The Unfortunate
COURT-FAVOURITES
OF
ENGLAND.

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The Unfortunate COURT-FAVOURITES.



The Unfortunate COURT-FAVOURITES OF ENGLAND.

Exemplified

In ſome REMARKS upon the Lives, Actions, and fatal Fall of divers Great Men, who have been FAVOURITES to ſeveral ENGLISH Kings and Queens;

NAMELY,

I. PIERCE GAVESTON, Earl of *Cornwall.*
II. HUGH SPENCER, Earl of *Wincheſter.*
III. HUGH SPENCER the Son, Earl of *Gloceſter.*
IV. ROGER MORTIMER, Earl of *March.*
V. HENRY STAFFORD, Duke of *Bucks.*
VI. THOMAS WOOLSEY, Cardinal of *York.*
VII. THOMAS CROMWELL, Earl of *Eſſex.*
VIII. ROBERT DEVEREUX, Earl of *Eſſex.*
IX. GEORGE VILLARS, Duke of *Buckingham.*
X. THOMAS WENTWORTH, Earl of *Strafford.*

With the Picture of each Monarch and Favourite.

By *ROBERT BURTON.*

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Psalms

Psalms

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE READER.

NOTHING is more obvious, than that Ambition, Envy, and Emulation are the usual Attendants on the Courts of Princes, and that the Effects of them have been often very fatal to many Great Men, who had the Fortune to have a larger Share in their Master's Affections than others. It is likewise as notorious, That there are certain Criſes of Government, wherein Princes have been obliged to ſacrifice their darling Miniſters, either to their own Safety, or the Importunity of the People. Laſtly, it is as evident, That ſome Court-Favourites have juſtly merited the unhappy Fate they met with, for their many Rapines, Inſolencies, and Enormities, as that others have been ruined meerly from the Caprichio, or inconſtant Temper of the Prince whom they ſerved. Of all theſe, in my Opinion, the enſuing Favourites are pregnant Inſtances. But I ſhall leave the Reader to particulariſe them according to his own Judgment, and will only add, That they are not all to be condemn'd as criminal, meerly becauſe they all happened to be unfortunate.

R. BURTON.

The Kings and Queens of England *to whom the following Unfortunate Great Men were Favourites.*

I. *Pierce Gaveſton*, Earl of *Cornwall*, Favourite to King *Edward* II.

II. and III. *Hugh Spencer* the Father, and *Hugh Spencer* the Son, both Favourites to King *Edward* II.

IV. *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Favourite to Queen *Iſabel*, Widow to King *Edward* II. and Mother to King *Edward* III.

V. *Henry Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, Favourite to King *Richard* III.

VI. *Thomas Woolſey*, Cardinal of *York*, Favourite to King *Henry* VIII.

VII. *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, Favourite to King *Henry* VIII.

VIII. *Robert Devereux*, Earl of *Eſſex*, Favourite to Queen *Elizabeth*.

IX. *George Villiers*, Duke of *Buckingham*, Favourite to King *James* I. and King *Charles* I.

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X. *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*, Favourite to King *Charles* I.

King

King Edward II.



Remarks on the Life, Actions, and fatal Fall of Pierce Gaveston, *Earl of* Cornwall, *Favourite to King* Edward II.

THAT unhappy Prince *Edward* II. was certainly the moſt Unfortunate in his Favourites of any King of *England*, either before or ſince his Reign: The firſt and fatal Favourite he had was before he came to the Crown, whoſe Name was *Pierce Gaveſton*, born in *Gaſcoigne*, a Province of *France*, and for the good Service performed by his Father in the Wars in that

Kingdom, his Son was taken in ſuch Favour at Court, that by King *Edward* I. his own appointment, he was educated with, and made a Companion to the young Prince, being a Perſon of a ſharp Wit, an excellent Shape, and a valiant Temper, of which he gave notable Proof in a Battle againſt the *Scots*, and for which they bore him a mortal Hatred: But all theſe worthy Qualities were defaced by his vicious Inclinations; ſo that as to his Chriſtian and Moral Virtues, Authors are very ſilent in mentioning them, though all give large Accounts of his Immoralities.

King *Edward* was ſo ſenſible that the Prince had been debauched by the corrupt Converſation of *Gaveſton*, that ſome time before his Death he was baniſhed the Kingdom; and upon his Death-bed commanding the Prince his Son to repair to him with all ſpeed to *Carliſle* in *Cumberland*, where he was with a great Army ready to invade *Scotland*, he gave him much good Advice; particularly, That he ſhould be merciful, juſt, faithful in Word and Deed, an Encourager of the Good, and ready to relieve the Diſtreſſed, that he ſhould be loving to his two Brothers, *Thomas* and *Edmund*, but eſpecially to honour and reſpect his Mother, Queen *Margaret*; and that upon pain of his Curſe, he ſhould not preſume, without common Conſent, to call *Peirce Gaveſton* from Exile, who, by Decree of the Nobility, was baniſhed: He alſo added a ſtrange Injunction for a dying Man, namely, That after his Death, the Prince ſhould not preſume to take the Crown, till he had honourably revenged the Injuries his Father had received from the *Scots*, and finiſhed the preſent Expedition againſt them, and ſhould carry his Father's Bones about with him in a Coffin, till he had marched through *Scotland*, and ſubdued all his Enemies, aſſuring him, That while they were with him, he ſhould be always victorious. Laſtly, Whereas by the continual Attempts of *Bruce*, King of *Scotland*, he was prevented from performing his Vow of going in

Perſon

Perſon for the Recovery of the Holy Land from the Infidels, that he ſhould ſend his Heart thither, accompanied with 140 Knights and their Retinue, for whoſe ſupport he had provided Thirty two thouſand Pounds; that after his Heart was conveyed thither, he hoped in God all things would proſper with them; adjuring the Prince, upon pain of Eternal Damnation, that he ſhould not expend the Money upon any other uſe. After theſe Admonitions, and having taken an Oath of this vain young Prince to perform his Will, he gave up the Ghoſt.

After his Father's Death, the Son had little regard to his dying Requeſts; and to ſhew what his future Behaviour was like to be, he firſt revenged himſelf upon *Walter Langton*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Lord Treaſurer, and principal Executor of his Father's Laſt Will, whom he impriſoned in *Wallingford* Caſtle, ſeizing upon all his Eſtate, no Man daring to intercede on his behalf, becauſe of the King's extream Hatred againſt him; the Biſhop's Crime being only in uſing a modeſt Freedom in K. *Edward*'s Days, in gravely reproving him for his Miſdemeanours, and not ſuffering him to have what Money he required to waſte prodigally upon *Gaveſton*, againſt whom he likewiſe made ſuch great and juſt Complaints, as occaſioned the Impriſonment of the Prince, and the Baniſhment of his lewd Favourite.

Soon after the young King married *Iſabel*, Daughter to *Philip the Fair*, of *Francee*, the Match being concluded before his Father's Death, and was now performed with extraordinary Magnificence at *Buloign*: At which Solemnity there were five Kings, namely, *Philip* the *French* King, the King of *Almaign*, the King of *Scicily*, and K. *Edward* the Bridegroom; and four Queens, *Mary* Queen of *France*, *Margaret* the Mother of *England*, her Daughter the Queen of *Navarre*, and *Iſabel* the Bride, Queen of *England*; with a great Number of Perſons of Honour and Quality, and

among them the beloved *Gaveſton*, who was entertained with the tendereſt Affection by King *Edward*; but the Nobility ſo deteſted him, that they reſolved to have hindred the Coronation of the King and Queen, which ſoon after followed, had not King *Edward* ſolemnly promiſed to give them reaſonable Satisfaction in the Matter; yet was he ſo far from it, that none appeared greater in Attendants, Bravery, and all other Grandeur, than *Gaveſton*, and as a particular Mark of Eſteem, the King ordered him to carry St. *Edward*'s Crown before him at the Solemnity: This ſtill increaſed the Abhorrence of the Lords againſt him, who having the Power and Favour of the King on his ſide, ſlighted all their Attempts, and reſolved to provoke them to the utmoſt, by affronting, miſcalling, and ſcoffing at the chief Peers of the Land; naming *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, *The Stage-Player*; *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Joſeph the Jew*, becauſe he was tall and pale; and *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, *The black Dog of Arden*; all whom at a Tournament he abuſed in a contemptible Manner.

King *Edward* took little notice of theſe Affronts, but rather encouraged his Inſolence, by heaping more Favours upon him; and *Gaveſton*, to eſtabliſh himſelf, was ſtill contriving thoſe Diverſions, which he knew to be pleaſing to his vain Mind; ſo that the Court was filled with Fidlers, Players, Jeſters, Flatterers, and all ſuch pernicious People, as by Senſualities and riotous Practices, might withdaw him from attempting any noble Enterprizes, in performance to his Father's Will, or for the good Government of his People, and led him into all kind of Debauchery, while *Gaveſton* himſelf revelled in all Felicity, and waſted the Treaſure of the Kingdom in Riot and Folly, or elſe converted it to his private Uſe, and tranſported great Sums beyond the Sea, that he might have ſomewhat to truſt to, if he ſhould be forced to a ſecond Baniſhment. And indeed he had ſo intirely ingroſſed

the

the King's Favour, that he had frequent Opportunities of inriching himſelf, all Addreſſes for obtaining Offices, Honours, or any other Advantages paſſing thro' his Hands, who eſpouſed their Buſineſs not according to Juſtice, but by the Value of the Preſents made him; and it is ſcarce credible, with what Prodigality the King ſquandred away his Money upon him; beſtowing on him, the beſt Jewels and Rarities that he had, nay, the Imperial Crown of his victorious Father, and a fine Table, and Stands all of pure Gold, with many other rich Ornaments, which *Gaveſton* privately conveyed away, to the great damage of the Kingdom; nay, he called him Brother, and publickly declared, That if it were in his Power, he would make him his Succeſſor to the Crown.

The Lords, who had hitherto paſt by the private Affronts they received, in hope, the King might in time ſee his Errors, which they by their daily Admonitions endeavoured to make him ſenſible of, finding he ſtill perſiſted in the ſame Courſes, which grew now intollerable, reſolved plainly to remonſtrate the Matter to him, telling him, That to their great Grief, they perceived his Dotage and ill-placed Affection was ulimited towards *Gaveſton*, a Perſon of an infamous Life, whoſe Father was a Traytor to the *French* King, and was hanged for the ſame; that his Mother was burnt for a Witch; and that he himſelf was baniſhed for being her Confederate in her curſed Witchcrafts, and that they did verily believe he had bewitched the King, or elſe he could never retain ſuch an unreaſonable Paſſion for ſo profligate a Wretch; that they much doubted he would abuſe his Greatneſs ſo far, as to bring Foreigners into the Land to defend him in his lawleſs and deſtructive Courſes, to the utter Ruin of the Laws, Liberties, and Eſtates of his Subjects: They therefore humbly deſire him to hearken to the Advice of his Peers, which would be for his own Honour and the Welfare of his People, and particularly,

1. That he would confirm and maintain thoſe ancient Laws and Cuſtoms which were contained in the Charters of the Kings his Predeceſſors. 2. That he would not force any Man to part with his Goods without paying the Value thereof. 3. That whatever Money, Lands, Jewels, or other valuable Things have been alienated from the Crown ſince his Father's Death, might be reſtored. 4. That he would remember the Oath he had taken to his Father before his Death, not to recall *Pierce Gaveſton* from Baniſhment; and for proſecuting the War againſt *Scotland*; and that he would rectify all that had been amiſs, that ſo his Enemies might have no Cauſe to rejoice, nor his Friends to be diſquieted. Laſtly, That no Man ſhould be reſtrained by the King's Writ from proſecuting his Suits in any Court of Juſtice, for defending his Right and Property; but that Juſtice might be impartially adminiſtred throughout the Kingdom, both to Rich and Poor, according to the ancient Conſtitutions and Laws of *England*.

The King taking Counſel of *Pierce Gaveſton* and his Accomplices, commanded the Lord Chancellor to tell the Lords, That he would give them Satisfaction to their Demands, at the next Seſſion of Parliament. The Barons were no ſooner gone home, but the King ordered the Gates of *London* to be ſhut, the Streets to be chained, and ſtrict Watch to be kept, and then with ſome Forces, both *Engliſh* and Foreigners, marched in company of *Gaveſton*, to *Wallingford* Caſtle; and as his Conſcience did not trouble him for the Breach of his Oath, ſo their diſlike increaſed his Love to *Gaveſton*, nothing being grateful but what came from his Hand. However, having quite emptied his Exchequer, he was compelled to comply with the Parliament, at their next Meeting at *London*, and to paſs an Act, For *Gaveſton*'s perpetual Baniſhment, and for ſecuring the Liberty of the Subject, and the due Execution of Juſtice, which the King confirmed by a ſolemn

Oath,

Oath, and for which they gratified him with a ſubſidue of the twentieth Part of their Eſtates. In purſuance of this Decree, *Gaveſton* is ſent by the King into *Ireland*, himſelf accompanying him as far as *Briſtol*, giving him a Commiſſion to be Chief Governor of that Kingdom, beſtowing on him thirty two Towns in the Province of *Gaſcoign* in *France*, and furniſhing him with Men and Money, ſufficient to ſecure himſelf againſt his Enemies, creating him Baron of *Wallingford*, Earl of *Cornwall*, and giving him the whole Revenue of that Country, as well as of *Ireland*, to be diſpoſed of at his Pleaſure, with ſuch Store of Plate and Jewels, that he might well think his Baniſhment was but a ſplendid Ambaſſage, and an Occaſion offered to the King by Fortune to make him more Rich and Honourable. He was no ſooner arrived there, but the King ſent Letters to him, requiring him to be chearful and merry in his Exile, aſſuring him, That his Troubles ſhould be recompenſed with greater Dignities than he had yet received; and indeed the King was ſo fond, that he could not live without him, and the Exigency of his Affairs being over, he made it appear, that what he had done againſt him, was contrary to his Humour, and that his Heart went not along with his Tongue and Hand. He therefore ſends for him back, who arriving in *Wales*, and coming to *Flint* Caſtle, was met by the King, and received with extraordinary Satisfaction; and to fix him more ſtrongly in his Affections, he married him to *Joan* of *Acres*, Counteſs of *Glouceſter*, his Siſter's Daughter, reſolving to retain his *Gaveſton*, in deſpight of all his Lords and People, and to venture his Crown and Life in protecting him from their Diſpleaſure; wherein both the King and He ſhewed much indiſcretion, it being equally dangerous for a Prince to expreſs ſuch extravagant Love to his Favourite, as for him to accept of the ſame. And at length it proved fatal to them both: For *Gaveſton* was naturally

naturally Ambitious, being above his Hopes or Expectations, advanced to an alliance with the Blood Royal, he now practices more notorious Villanies than he had done before, waſting the King's Treaſure with ſuch monſtrous Profuſion, that he had not wherewith to defray the ordinary expences of his Court, continually ſupplying the King's luxurious Fancy with freſh and chargeable Delights, both in banqueting, coſtly Wines, and laſcivious Dalliance, whereby he ſo vitiated his Soul, that he abandoned the lawful Society of his Queen, and gave himſelf up to the Embraces of impudent Harlots.

The Queen was extreamly grieved at theſe unſufferable Wrongs; but neither her Sighs nor Tears could ſoften his Heart, hardned with the variety and continuance of ſinning, and the malevolent Example of the curſed *Gaveſton*. Neither were the People ſilent, but took Liberty to talk of theſe Miſdemeanours of the King. The Queen being abuſed both in her Honour and Maintenance, having not a ſufficiency allowed her by *Gaveſton*, to ſupport her Royal Dignity, complains to her Father, the *French* King; and the Abbot of St. *Dennis* being ſent as the Pope's Legate, to demand the Legacy that the King's Father left, for the recovery of the Holy Land, uſed earneſt importunities with him, to baniſh that lewd Companion, *Gaveſton*, from his Court and Kingdom, with whoſe Converſation, all Mankind were infected, but all was in vain. After this, the King ſummoned a Parliament to meet at *Northampton*, deſigning to go thence to *Scotland*. The Barons came there well armed and guarded, of which the King having intelligence, ſent them Word, he would not come, yet at laſt he came as far as *Stony-Stratford*, to whom the Lords ſent the Earls of *Warwick* and *Clare*, with their earneſt Intreaties, That for his own Safety, and the Benefit of the Kingdom, he would appear at his Parliament. Whereupon he was prevailed with to come in the

Habit

Habit of an Eſquire, and the Lords were preſent unarmed, and in concluſion, an happy Agreement was made, and the Expedition to *Scotland* laid aſide for the preſent.

Soon after a Parliament aſſembled at *London*, to which came *Lewis*, Brother to the *French* King, and the Biſhop of *Poictou*, to endeavour to ſettle a laſting Concord between the King and the Peers. At this Parliament many good Laws were Enacted; One for baniſhing *Peirce Gaveſton* once again, which the King was obliged to paſs, tho' ſore againſt his Will, with this Condition added by the Lords, That if he were ever found again in any of the King's Dominions, he ſhould be taken as a Common Enemy, and executed by Martial Law, without further Tayal.

Hereupon *Gaveſton* went into *France*, but that King being his ſworn Enemy, upon the Account of the Queen his Daughter, he wandred from one Country to another, ſeeking for Reſt, but could find none. Wherefore having ſtill confidence in the Love and Favour of the King, he with many Foreigners adventured once more to *England*, having ſcarce been abſent three Months, and coming to the King, who then kept his Chriſtmas at *York*, he was entertained with the former Endearedneſs, and ſo much Joy, that an Angel from Heaven could not have been more welcome to him, who inſtantly made him Principal Secretary of State.

The Queen, Nobility, and People, were all diſturbed at *Gaveſton*'s Return, and the Lords perceiving the irreclaimable Temper of the King, they conclude, There could be no Peace in the Kingdom while *Gaveſton* was alive, and reſolved to venture their Lives and Eſtates, for the deſtruction of this infamous Foreigner, who ſeemed to deſign the utter Ruin of the Nation. Purſuant to which, they conſtitute *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, to be their Leader, and put themſelves in Arms: But being ſenſible of the Miſeries of inteſtine

Wars,

Wars, they were willing to try all peaceable Expedients, and ſeveral great Men were ſent with an humble Petition to the King at *York*, requeſting him, to deliver into their Hands, or drive out of his Company and Kingdom, the wicked *Gaveſton*; aſſuring him, They were all of Opinion, that he would never have any Money in his Exchequer, nor any Love for his Queen, whilſt that profligate Stranger was in ſo much Grace; and threatning, That if he did not gratify them in their Requeſts, they would renounce their Allegiance, and proſecute him as a perjured Prince. But the obſtinate King reſolving to loſe all, rather than part with his dear *Gaveſton*, ſent for foreign Soldiers; and having hired 300 Horſemen, commanded by the Earl of *Hannow*, and the Viſcount *Foix*, in their Paſſage through *France* for *England*, they were ſeized by that King, who killed moſt of the Soldiers and hanged up their Officers. He then ſollicited Aid from *Robert Bruce*, King of *Scotland*, from *Robert Fitz Thomas*, a great Man in *Ireland*, and likewiſe from the *Welch*, but they all denied to give him any Aſſiſtance againſt his Barons. Whereat being inraged, he fortified *Windſor* Caſtle, and built Forts in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. The Lords likewiſe raiſed Forces, and reſolved to march towards *York*, from whence the King was gone to Sea for his Recreation, leaving *Gaveſton* behind him, who lodged in the Caſtle, and cauſed both that and the City to be ſtrengthned with new Fortifications. The Barons rendeſvouzed at *Bedford*, where they made *Gilbert*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, Lord Keeper of *England*, and ordered ſtrict Guards to be ſet upon the Sea-Coaſts to prevent any foreign Forces from landing to aſſiſt the King. From hence they proceeded to *York*, at whoſe approach, *Gaveſton* fled to *Scarborough*; they purſued him thither, and beſieging the Town, they quickly took it, and made him a Priſoner, committing him to the Cuſtody of *Aymer de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, who carried him to a Village, called *Dathington*,

Dathington, between *Oxford* and *Warwick*, deſigning to have conveyed him next Day to *Wallingford* Caſtle; but going that Night to lodge with his Counteſs, who was hard by, the next Day, *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, with a ſtrong Party, took him away, and brought him to *Warwick* Caſtle. And in a Council of War, it was unanimouſly reſolved, by the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Warwick*, and *Hereford*, that he ſhould be inſtantly put to Death, as a Subverter of the Government, and a notorious Traytor to the Kingdom. And being carried to a place called *Blacklow*, and afterwards *Gaveſhead*, he was beheaded in the Preſence of the Lords, in 1312. His Body was by the Friars Predicent, conveyed to *Oxford*, and there kept above two Years, till the King cauſed it to be removed to *Langley* in *Hartfordſhire*, where he, in Perſon, to demonſtrate his Affection to him Dead, as well as Living, attended with the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, four Biſhops, many Abbots and principal Clergymen, cauſed him to be interred in the Friars Church which he had built, with all manner of Funeral Solemnity, few of the temporal Lords being preſent, whoſe great Hearts could not comply to honour him being dead, whom they mortally hated when alive. This was the fatal End of this ungracious Favourite, who, if he had uſed Moderation and Diſcretion, might have long enjoy'd the Grandeur to which he had arrived; but the publick Wrongs he was guilty of, with the private and perſonal Abuſes offered to the principal Nobility, made him abhorred, no Injuries being harder to be forgiven or forgotten, than Scoffs and Jeers at Mens perſonal Defects, which have occaſioned the deſtruction of many in all Ages, and made this unfortunate Man dye unlamented, being reckoned to fall a juſt Sacrifice both to publick and private Vengeance.

Remarks

Remarks on the Lives, Actions, and fatal Fall of HUGH SPENCER, *the Father, Earl of* Wincheſter; *and* HUGH SPENCER, *the Son, Earl of* Glouceſter, *both Favourites to King* Edward II.

INNUMERABLE are the Miſchiefs a Kingdom is ſubject to, which is governed by a perverſe and wilful Prince, which commonly occaſions great Calamities, both to himſelf and his People, and of which we have ſcarce a more pregnant Inſtance, than in the Reign of this unhappy King *Edward* II. who though he had ſuffered ſo many troubles for his inordinate and unreaſonable Favours to *Pierce Gaveſton*, and by whoſe removal the Nobility ſeemed ſo well contented, that he might now have ſettled himſelf and the Realm in Peace, yet his violent Nature was ſuch, that he made it his Study how to deſtroy the Lords who had deprived him of his beloved Minion, whoſe Death ſo afflicted him, that he ſeemed as if he had loſt half of himſelf, and whoſe Blood he deſigned to revenge upon them to the utmoſt, as the only means to revive his languiſhing Spirit, and remove the Sorrow that had lain upon his Mind, ever ſince his fatal Fall. The Barons were ſenſible of his Diſpleaſure againſt them, and reſolved, not to lay down their Arms till they had ſufficiently provided for their further Security, and ſettled the Government upon its ancient and legal Foundation.

This unnatural Diviſion was much heightned by the ill Offices of the Queen's Kindred and Countrymen, the *French*, who coming over in great Numbers, to attend the Solemnity of the baptizing the Prince (afterwards the victorious King *Edward* III.) who was about this time born at *Windſor*, they ſo aggravated the Proceedings of the Lords, that he who was too much inflamed before, ſeemed now irreconcileable to them. So that nothing but the Miſeries of an inteſtine War were

were expected. To prevent which, the young Queen, the Biſhops, and ſome other Noblemen, procured an Interview between them, where the King ſharply charged the Barons for their rebellious taking up of Arms againſt him, and for wickedly murdering his dear and faithful Friend, *Pierce Gaveſton*. The Lords reſolutely anſwered, That they were not guilty of Rebellion, nor had done any thing but what deſerved his Royal Thanks and Favour, ſince they had not raiſed any Forces againſt his ſacred Perſon, but only in their own Defence, and to bring to Juſtice, that impious Traytor *Pierce Gaveſton*, the publick Enemy and Fire-brand of the Realm. But though they both were fierce in Words, yet the Queen and Biſhops uſed Means to prevent their coming to Action, and by their inceſſant Endeavours, wrought ſo effectually, that the King ſeemed willing to be pacified, if they would acknowledge their Fault. And the Lords, for preventing the Dangers which threatned them from *Robert Bruce*, King of *Scotland*, were contented to make their humble Submiſſions to the King in open Court at Weſtminſter, and deſire him to forgive all their Offences, which the King granted, offering his Pardon to all that would Petition him for the ſame. Upon which happy Agreement, the Parliament then ſitting, being ſenſible of the King's want of Money, freely granted him a Fifteenth of their Eſtates. But, *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, did not long ſurvive this happy Union, being ſecretly poiſoned, as the Lords reported, by ſome of the King's Friends.

The Office of Lord Chamberlain being vacant, by the Death of *Pierce Gaveſton*, the Nobility recommended *Hugh Spencer*, the Younger, to ſucceed in his Place, becauſe he had been formerly of their Party, and they did not doubt but he would be a faithful Counſellor. But as the Proverb ſays, *Honour changes Manners*; for though the King before hated him, yet he ſoon inſinuated himſelf ſo far into his weak Mind, that

that he became an intimate Favourite, and ſucceeded in all the Graces, Familiarity, and Power of his Predeceſſors, as well as in the Hatred and Envy of the Nobility and People, occaſioned by his Inſolence, Ambition, and Lewdneſs, wherein he ſeemed to equal, if not exceed, the wicked *Gaveſton*, and thereby rendered himſelf acceptable to the vitiated Soul of King *Edward*. *Hugh Spencer*, his Father, an ancient Knight, was yet living, and counted a Perſon of great Virtue, a wiſe Counſellor, and a Man of Valour; but ſeeming forward in promoting his Son's Intereſt and Grandeur, he was introduced into Court, and in great Favour with the King, being made partaker of the Guilt and Calamity of his Son, rather out of natural and paternal Love and Tenderneſs, than from the depravity of his Mind.

But young *Spencer* was not of a more lovely Shape and Perſonage, than he was of a profligate Temper: The Spirit of Pride, Rapine, and the moſt intollerable Vices, ſeeming to have wholly poſſeſt him; ſo that in compariſon of him, the People were almoſt ready to wiſh for *Gaveſton* again. By his lewd Advice, the King purſued his former Courſe of Debauchery, ſpending his Time and Treaſure among Harlots, and renouncing the Converſation of his Conſort, which made him a ſcorn to foreign Princes, and hateful to all civil Men. He was the cauſe of the Ruin of divers Widows and Fatherleſs, and of many Noblemen and Gentlemen, and at length, the utter overthrow of Himſelf, his Father, and the King alſo.

This evil Management of Affairs, cauſed new Diſcords between the King and his Nobility, whereby many Miſchiefs happened, and their Enemies had Opportunity to put in Practice their Deſigns againſt them. Among others, the *Scots* joyfully crowned the Valiant *Robert Bruce*, for their King, reſolving to uſe their utmoſt Efforts for the Recovery of their Country and Liberties, which had been raviſhed from them by the Valiant

Valiant King *Edward* I. who had made an entire Conqueſt of the Kingdom, and appointed *John Cummin*, Earl of *Buquin*, a *Scot*, to be Governor thereof for the *Engliſh*. Him King *Robert* vanquiſhed in Battle, and was now grown ſo powerful, while King *Edward* was buried in unmanly Luxury, that he ſent his Brother to Beſiege the Caſtle of *Sterling*; which bold Attempt began to awaken the King out of his deſtructive Slumber: So that raiſing a potent Army, he with all Diligence marched towards the Relief thereof. *Hector Boetius*, the *Scots* Hiſtorian, gives a ſurprizing Account of the Number of Soldiers, that King *Edward* carried with him to this Siege, which he reckons to be, one hundred and fifty thouſand Horſe, and as many Foot; and becauſe this may ſeem incredible, he adds, That beſides the *Engliſh*, he had the Aſſiſtance of the *Hollanders*, *Zealanders*, *Flemings*, *Picards*, *Boloignois*, *Gaſcoigns*, *Normans*, and many more from other Provinces and Countries: Beſides which, he relates a vaſt Multitude of Women, Children, Servants, yea, whole Families, with their Houſhold-ſtuff, followed the Camp; wherein this Author may be thought to deſign to magnify the Valour of his Countrymen, who with far more inconſiderable Forces defeated them.

His Darling, *Spencer*, accompanied the King in this Expedition; but the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Warren*, *Warwick*, and *Arundel*, the greateſt Peers of that Age, refuſed to attend him, ſince He and his evil Miniſters continued their Invaſions and Depredations upon the Liberties and Eſtates of the People, notwithſtanding the Proviſions they had ſo often made, and he had ſo often conſented to, for ſecuring them. And as this diminiſhed his Strength, ſo it deprived him of their Counſel and Conduct, which was ſo neceſſary in Military Affairs: However, his number of Men was ſufficient, if Multitude without Diſcipline, Piety, or Courage, could always obtain the Victory. But

King

King *Edward* and his Army, ſeemed rather to be going to a Wedding, than to engage a rough and hard Enemy; for their Targets, Bucklers, and other Habiliments of War, were ſo glorious with Gold and Silver, and their bright Armour gave ſuch a dazzling Luſtre againſt the Sun-beams, as raiſed Wonder in the admiring Spectators, and ſeemed to correſpond with the wanton Humour of the Prince. And herein it is apparent, what Advantages true and ſober Courage uſually obtains over vain Gallantry, and ungrounded Confidence. King *Robert*, with his Forces, which were much inferiour to the *Engliſh*, being encamped near King *Edward*, he publiſhed a ſtrict Order the Evening before, That his Soldiers ſhould prepare themſelves for Battle the next Day, and ſhould make humble Confeſſion of their Sins, and receive the Bleſſed Sacrament, and then no doubt the Lord of Hoſts would give them Victory, ſince they deſigned only to free themſelves from the many woful Calamities which they had ſuffered from the *Engliſh*, and to recover the Liberty of their Country.

Far otherwiſe was it in the Camp of King *Edward*; for the *Scots* having the Day before cut off ſeveral *Engliſh* Horſemen, he was ſo far from being diſcouraged at ſuch a ſlight Preſage of ill Fortune, that he reſolved the very next Day to take a terrible Revenge upon them; of which he had ſuch an aſſurance, that he triumphed before the Victory, his Soldiers carouſing, and threatning their Enemies with the utmoſt Cruelties that could be executed upon them. But the *Scots*, to obviate their Strength by Policy, had digged before the Front of their Battalions ſeveral Trenches three Foot in Depth, and as many broad, wherein they placed ſharp Stakes with their points upwards, and covered them ſo exactly with Hurdles, that the Foot might paſs lightly over, but the Horſe would certainly ſink in. And this Stratagem, next to the Anger of Heaven againſt the *Engliſh*, for their vain Glory

and

and Effeminacy, was the principal Cauſe of the Defeat of King *Edward*; for he depoſing much Confidence in his Cavalry, the Fury of their firſt Charge was intercepted and ſtoped by theſe Pit-falls, into which the Horſes plunging in great Numbers, the Riders were miſerably deſtroyed with much eaſe by the *Scots*, whom, King *Robert*, marching on Foot in the Head of, led on with much Courage and Gallantry: The King of *England* had marſhalled his Army in good Order, but this unexpected and diſmal Diſcomfiture of his Horſe in thoſe miſchievous Ditches, confounded all his Meaſures, ſo that he was compelled, after ſome diſorderly Reſiſtance, to leave to the *Scots*, the greateſt Victory they ever obtain'd againſt the *Engliſh* in any Age, either before or ſince. King *Edward*, could hardly be perſuaded to make his Eſcape, it being the firſt time that ever he diſcovered any Symptoms of the Courage of a valiant *Engliſh* King; but at length being over perſuaded by his Friends, Himſelf, and his cowardly Favourite, *Spencer*, whom King *Edward*'s own Hiſtorian calls, A Faint-hearted Kite, fled to a place of Safety. All things proved unfortunate in this Battle, for when the Foot perceived the Horſe in this wretched Condition, they ſhot their Arrows at the *Scots*, who came to kill them, but they being Armed in their Fore-parts, received little or no Damage, ſo that they ſlew a great Number of their Friends whoſe Backs were towards them unarmed: The Loſs fell much upon the Nobility, for there was ſlain in this Battle, *Gilbert* Earl of *Glouceſter*, a Man of ſingular Valour and Wiſdom, the Lord *Clifford*, with ſeveral other Peers, beſides 700 Knights, Eſquires, and Offices of Note. The Slaughter of the reſt could not be great, ſince the *Scots* fought on Foot. *Hector Boetius*, ſaith, There were 50000 *Engliſh* killed, though no other will allow of above 10000. The Riches and Plunder taken, doubtleſs, was very valuable. Among the Priſoners, the Chief was *Humphry Bohun*, Earl

Earl of *Hereford*, who was after exchanged for King *Robert*'s Queen, who had been long time Priſoner in *England*.

This Battle was fought at a Place, called, *Bannocks Born*, near *Sterling*, in *Scotland*, on *Midſumer-day*, *June* 24. 1314, and King *Robert*, having been formerly Reſident in *England*, Treated the Priſoners with much Civility, and ſent the Bodies of the Earl of *Gloceſter* and Lord *Clifford* to *England*, to be buried with their Anceſtors. From this Overthrow, King *Edward* and his Minion, *Spencer*, made their eſcape to *Berwick*, and came from thence to *York*, where he publickly declared, That he was reſolved inſtantly to raiſe new Forces, and regain the Honour he had loſt, or elſe loſe his Life in the Attempt. But his Deſigns proved fruitleſs; for ſoon after, the ſtrong, and almoſt impregnable Caſtle of *Berwick*, was treacherouſly betrayed into the Hands of King *Robert*, by one *Peter Spalding*, whom the King of *England* had made Governor, who inſtead of the promiſed Reward, was hanged by the King of *Scots* for his Treachery. After this, the King raiſed another Army againſt the *Scots*, but received a ſecond unhappy Overthrow, returning home with much Ignominy, and leaving his Subjects in the North, diſtreſſed and unrelieved from the continual Ravages of their implacable Enemies, in as lamentable a manner, as ever any People were abandoned by an unworthy and careleſs Prince.

Of theſe Diſgraces, Loſſes, and Troubles, we may make this uſeful Obſervation, That as the Heroick Virtues of excellent Princes are uſually crowned with Bleſſings from Heaven; ſo for the Iniquities of ungodly Kings, both themſelves and their Subjects are ſeverely puniſhed by the Almighty, before whom Princes muſt fall as well as common Men, except their hearty Repentance and Amendment procures his Mercy before it be too late. And indeed the Hand of God ſeemed now ſtretched out againſt this Kingdom; for about

about this time ſo great a Peſtilence happened, that the Living were hardly ſufficient to bury the Dead; attended by a dreadful Famine of immoderate Rains in Harveſt, which deſtroyed all the Corn almoſt throughout *England*, and the Dearth grew ſo terrible, that Horſe-fleſh was counted dainty Victuals: The Poor ſtole fat Dogsto eat them, yea, ſome, compelled with Hunger, eat their own Children, and others ſtole their Neigbours Children to eat them: Thieves in Priſon kill'd and tore in pieces thoſe that came newly in, and greedily devoured them half alive: The Cows, Sheep, Goats, *&c.* were generally rotten and corrupted by eating the Graſs, which was infected as it grew, ſo that thoſe who fed of it were poiſoned.

But neither theſe woful Viſitations, nor the innumerable Diſhonours and Diſcontents under which the Nation lay, had any Influence upon the King or his Miniſters; which gave Encouragement to one *John Poydras*, a Tanner's Son at *Exeter*, to attempt a very daring Enterprize, he boldly affirming himſelf to be the only Son of King *Edward* I. and that he was changed in his Cradle by his Nurſe for a Carter's Child, offering coulrable Allegations to prove the ſame: And among the reſt, he ſtrongly inſiſted upon the unprincely Qualities and Actions of the King, ſuch as none could be guilty of, that was not of a ſordid and obſcure Deſcent. His confident Claim, and daring Aſſertions, quickly affected the Minds of the common People, ſo that many acknowledged him for their King: But at length he was apprehended, and having confeſſed his Treaſon, was condemned and executed for his Folly, near *Northampton*, declaring, That he did it by the Motion of a Familiar Spirit, whom he had ſerved three Years in the likeneſs of a Cat. About the ſame time, 200 notorious Thieves and Robbers, being all cloathed like Grey Friars, robbed and murdered the Inhabitants of the North Country, without regard to Quality, Age, or Sex; but ſome Forces

being ſent againſt them, the greateſt Part were deſervedly executed for the ſame.

The Nobility and Gentry perceiving the Diſtempers and Miſchiefs in the Realm to increaſe and grow more dangerous, they, like good Phyſicians, determined to provide ſome Remedy for their Redreſs before it was too late; the miſerable Oppreſſions and Violences daily committed in their View, making them take Courage to inform the King, *That the two* Spencers, *by their Miſmanagement and ill Conduct in the Affairs of State, of whom alone he took Counſel, were the only Occaſion of all thoſe Calamities which now miſerably afflicted the whole Kingdom; and plainly told him, they had ſo great an Intereſt in the King's Perſon and Government, that they were bound in Honour and Conſcience to inform his Highneſs of all Miſdemeanors committed by any of his Subjects, which tended to the ſubverſion of the State, and the diſturbance of the Publick Peace; humbly imploring his Majeſty to diſmiſs the two* Spencers *from his Preſence, Court, and Council for ever, who corrupted him with monſtrous Vices, and rendered him altogether negligent in performing thoſe Royal Offices that God required at his Hands; for as ſubjection belonged to the People, ſo the King was obliged to afford them Protection, which yet he had moſt diſhonourably neglected, by expoſing his Subjects in the North to the Rage of the* Scots, *and all the Extremities of Hunger and Want.* Adding, *That if he would not inſtantly diſcharge thoſe two wicked Councellors, they muſt and would do it themſelves, though with the hazard of their Lives, and whatever was dear to them in the World.*

The King could not chuſe but know, that this ſharp Remonſtrance of the Barons was nothing but Truth, and founded upon Honour, Conſcience, and true Zeal for their Country, and was as ſenſible that they were reſolved to reform what was amiſs. But though his Countenance proclaimed his inward diſcontent, and his Intentions of ſurprizing and ruining thoſe Noblemen who diſcovered their hatred againſt his beloved

Spencers

Spencers; yet he returned the Barons a favourable Anſwer, aſſuring them, All that was amiſs ſhould be redreſſed by the enſuing Parliament, which he would aſſemble with all Speed. The Lords rejoyced at this Anſwer (as well as the common People) but yet ſuſpected the King intended to ſeize them at that ſolemn Meeting. To prevent which, they came to *London*, attended with ſo many of their Friends and Tenants, all in the ſame Livery, as compoſed an Army ſufficient to ſecure them againſt any ſiniſter Attempts.

The King was much diſturbed to find he was prevented in his ſecret Deſigns; but his greateſt Grief was, that he found himſelf unable any longer to protect his deteſted Favourites, for whom he had a more tender Affection than for his Queen, Children, and all his Friends beſides, whom yet he was compelled by the Parliament to relinquiſh; by whom it was enacted, with his Conſent, That they ſhould be baniſhed the Kingdom, never to return, under Penalty of High Treaſon.

This being concluded, the Barons longing to ſee the *Spencers* under Sail, provided Ships for their Tranſportation. Being gone, to the great Satisfaction of the People, the King, inſtead of redreſſing the remaining Grievances, wholly applied his Thoughts how to be avenged of thoſe Lords that had forced him to comply in decreeing their Exile: And to declare his Reſentment, when he was informed that the younger *Spencer* having got a Squadron of Ships together, was turned Pyrate in the Narrow Seas, Plundering all Nations, but eſpecially the *Engliſh* Merchants, to the unſpeakable Damage of the Realm, having taken out of two Ships only at *Sandwich*, Goods to the Value of 40000 Pounds, upon which great Complaints being made, and many Petitions preſented, that a Fleet might be ſent out for bringing him and his Aſſociates to Puniſhment as Pyrates, according to Law, he was ſo far from providing any Remedy, that he ſeemed merry at the

News, and ſoon after ſent them a general Pardon of all their Crimes; and to inrage the Nobility, recalled them both from Baniſhment, and honoured them with more Offices and Authority than they had before.

Theſe ſtrange proceedings of the King, with the notorious Injuries which were committed after their return and advancement, who now defied the Power of the Lords, ſcorning and deriding them with the moſt pungent Affronts, were ſufficient Warnings to them to take care of their Safety: Wherefore, ſince neither Petitions, Submiſſions, nor any other legal Proceedure, could procure any Remedy, they raiſed a ſtrong Army, and marched into the Field; and the King, with the two *Spencers*, and ſome few of the Nobility, did the like. Before any Action, this odd Accident happened, procured as was thought, by the Contrivance of the King or his evil Miniſters. A certain Knight belonging to *John* Earl of *Warren*, ſtole away the Wife of *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, one of the Chief of the Lord's Party, at his Houſe at *Caneford* in *Dorſetſhire*, and with great Pomp carried her to Earl *Warren*'s Caſtle at *Ryegate* in *Surry*, in deſpight of her Lord and Husband; where one *Richard Maurice*, a wretched, lame, deformed Dwarf, challenged her for his Wife, pretending he had been formerly contracted to her, and had lain with her. The Counteſs, though the nobleſt and richeſt Inheritrix of that Age, confirmed his Allegations, openly declaring, to her immortal Infamy, that what he ſaid was true, thereby acknowledging herſelf to be an impudent Strumpet. Upon which, this deformed Elf (being encouraged by ſome Great Perſons) had the Confidence to lay Claim to the Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury* in her Right, and the Honour of this great Earl was blaſted by a debauched Woman.

This unhappy Paſſage increaſed the fatal Averſion between the King and the Earl; and *Humphry Bohun* Earl

Earl of *Hereford*, having likewiſe received ſome Damage from the *Spencers*, theſe two allured moſt of the Nobility to join with them. So that being now gotten into Arms, they marched with Banners diſplayed under the Command of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, whom they conſtituted their General; and after many ſharp encounters, the Armies met at *Burton* upon *Trent*, where both Parties fought with ſuch obſtinate Deſire of Revenge, that he was reckoned the moſt valiant Man who drenched his Sword deepeſt in Blood. The Nobles now forgot that they fought againſt their Soveraign Lord; and the King would by no means acknowledge, that his Tyranny and Miſ-government had compelled them to take Arms. Now neither Kindred, Alliance, Neighbourhood, Religion, Countries, nor any other Obligation, had the leaſt Power over their inraged Minds. Nothing but Death and Wounds muſt determine the Controverſy between them. At length, when many of the Lords, and thouſands of their Adherents were ſlain, they fled, and were purſued by the King, the Earl of *Hereford* was ſlain by a Welſhman, who thruſt a Spear into his Body between the Chinks of a Wooden Bridge. The Earl of *Lancaſter* with eight Lords and Knights were taken Priſoners.

The Occaſion of this great Defeat of the Barons is attributed in ſome Meaſure to an unhappy Accident awhile before. For Queen *Iſabel*, who upon all occaſions uſed her utmoſt Intereſt to procure a right Underſtanding between the King and the Peers, coming from *Canterbury* to the Caſtle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, where ſhe deſigned to lodge that Night, was denied entrance by the Lord *Badleſmere*, one of the Earl of *Lancaſter*'s Party, wherewith being offended, ſhe made great Complaints thereof to the King, who glad of any Opportunity to be revenged of the Barons, came in Perſon with a ſtrong Party before the Caſtle, many of the Queen's Friends, who were formerly on the other

ſide, joining with him. The Lord himſelf was gone with the reſt of the Noblemen to deſtroy the Lands of the two *Spencers*, having left his Wife and Children in the Caſtle, and a Captain to command there. After ſome time, the Beſieged finding little Hope of Relief, were forced to ſurrender to the King at Mercy, who hanged five or ſix of the principal Perſons, and committed the Lord *Badleſmere*'s Wife and Children to the Tower. After which many of the Barons miſdoubting their Strength, deſerted their Chief, the Earl of *Lancaſter*, which made the Victory the more eaſily incline to the King.

The third Day after the Battle, the King reſolving to take his full ſwing of Vengeance upon the Barons, ſate in Judgment in Perſon at *Pomfret* Caſtle, with the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembrook*, *Surrey*, and the two *Spencers*. Before whom the Earl of *Lancaſter* and the reſt being brought, Sentence was pronounced againſt them, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, as guilty of High Treaſon, by *Andrew Harkley*, a Man of ſmall Fortune, but made Earl of *Carliſle*, and Lord Chief Juſtice, for taking the Earl of *Lancaſter* and ſeveral other Lords Priſoners after the late Fight. The Earl of *Lancaſter*, being the King's Uncle, was beheaded the ſame Day at *Pomfret*, but the other Lords were hanged and quartered in ſeveral parts of the Realm. As the Lords *Liſle*, *Touchet*, *Manduit*, *Bradburn*, *Fitz-Williams*, and *Cheyney* at *Pomfret*. The Lords *Clifford*, *Mowbray*, and *Glanvile* hanged in Chains at *York*. The Lord *Gifford* at *Glouceſter*. The Lord *Teys* at *London*. The Lord *Aldenham* at *Windſor*, and the Lords *Badleſmere* and *Aſhburnham* at *Canterbury*. And ſeveral other Baronets, Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen were executed in other Places. Never did *Engliſh* Earth at one time drink up ſo much Blood of her Nobility and Gentry, ſhed in ſo vile a Manner, which whatſoever was pretended, was reckoned by

by the People to be ſpilt upon the account of the two ravenous Favourites the *Spencers*; nor was it long unreveng'd with the Deſtruction of the principal Actors. The King then ſeized all their Eſtates, as forfeited to the Crown.

This Havock being made of the Nobility, to the Aſtoniſhment of the reſt, and the Terror of the Vulgar, the *Spencers* were ſo elevated by this Victory, that inſtead of reforming thoſe Abuſes that might occaſion the like, and giving the King good Counſel, they commit greater Rapines than before, making their Will a Law in all things. And preſuming all Affairs ſhould for the future be managed according to their Pleaſure, they adviſe the King to call a Parliament at *York*, in which he created *Edward*, his eldeſt Son, Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *Acquitain*; and made Sir *Hugh Spencer*, the Father, Earl of *Wincheſter*, and Sir *Hugh* the Son, Earl of *Glouceſter*: They likewiſe exacted the ſixth Penny of all Mens Eſtates and Goods for his Wars againſt the *Scots*; the levying of which cauſed much murmuring among the People, who affirm'd, *That they were already impoveriſh'd and ruin'd by War, Famine, and the diſorder'd Government of the King and his evil Counſellors.*

The King being perſuaded that his late Succeſſes had render'd him as terrible to the *Scots* as to his own Subjects, and that they were uncapable of reſiſting ſo great a Power as he had raiſed againſt them, reſolv'd now to call them to a ſtrict Account for all their Inroads, Murders, and Robberies. The *Scots* being ſecretly inform'd, that K. *Edward* intended to invade their Country, and revenge the Wrongs he had receiv'd from *Robert Bruce* their King, endeavoured to divert him by landing a great Army in *Ireland*; but the King having timely notice of their Deſign, made ſuch Proviſion, that the greateſt part of the Aſſailants were ſlain, and the reſt fled to their Ships, and return'd ſhamefully to their own Country. He then marched with a gallant Army into *Scotland*, and the *Scots* Nobility, with

ſome thouſands of Men, pretended to give him Battle, but intended nothing leſs: For at his Approach they retired in good Order into the Woods, Foreſts, and Mountains of their Country, and the *Engliſh* were quite tired and diſpirited in purſuing them through thoſe difficult Paſſages; ſo that in a ſhort Time, for want of Proviſions and Neceſſaries, and by reaſon of the Rains, Hail, Snow and Froſts, incident to that cold Region, the King's Forces were ſo afflicted with Sickneſs and Mortality, that they were obliged to retire, without performing any thing ſuitable to ſuch mighty Preparations. The *Scots* purſued, and one night aſſaulted them with ſuch Fury, that the King himſelf narrowly eſcaped; who finding his Army ſcattered, he was forced to ſave his Life by an ignominious Flight, and to leave behind him his Treaſure, Cannon, Tents, and Furniture, a joyful Prize to the victorious *Scots*.

This laſt Diſaſter was occaſioned by the Treachery of Sir *Andrew Harkley*, the new-made Earl of *Carliſle*, who under pretence of making Peace with the *Scots*, ſecretly agreed to marry the Daughter of King *Robert*, whereupon he was ſeized, and carried to *London* in Chains, and being brought to the Bar, before Sir *Anthony Lucy*, in the Robes of an Earl, with his Sword girt, hoſed, booted, and ſpurr'd, the Judge ſpake thus to him, *Sir* Andrew, *the King for thy Valour and great Service hath advanced thee to great Honour, and made thee Earl of* Carliſle; *notwithſtanding which, thou, as a Traytor to thy Lord and King, leddeſt a Party that ſhould have aſſiſted him at the Battle of* Byland *in* Scotland, *away by* Copland *through* Lancaſhire, *by which Falſeneſs and Treaſon of thine, our Lord the King was diſcomfited by the* Scots; *whereas if thou hadſt arrived in time, he might have gained the Victory. And this Treaſon thou didſt wilfully commit, for a great Sum of Gold and Silver, which thou didſt receive from* James Douglas, *a* Scot, *and the King's Enemy. For which great Crime, our Lord the*

King

King hath commanded that thou be deprived of the Order of Knighthood wherewith he hath honoured thee, for a Terror to all other Knights, to avoid the like Treachery. Then his Spurs were hewed from his Heels, and his Sword with which he was knighted, and girt when created an Earl, was broken over his Head. He was then unclothed of all his Robes of Honour and State, and and his Coat of Arms defaced. After which the Judge proceeded thus; Andrew, *thou art now no Knight, but a Knave, and for thy Treason the King hath appointed that thou ſhalt be hanged, thy Head ſmitten off, and placed on* London-Bridge, *thy Bowels taken out and burnt, thy Body quarter'd, and thy four Quarters ſet up in four principal Cities of* England, *for an Example to ſuch heinous Offenders.* Which Sentence was accordingly executed upon him.

Thus ended this unfortunate Expedition, to the great reproach and loſs of the *Engliſh*, and the ſcandal of the King, who was already ſufficiently infamous for making the Kingdom a Shamble for the Nobility. Yet in the midſt of theſe Calamities, the two *Spencers* rid triumphant in the Charict of Favour, Honour, and Riches, enjoying great part of the Eſtate of the late unfortunate Earl of *Lancaſter*: And in this Grandeur they continued five Years, notwithſtanding the utmoſt Efforts of their potent and numerous Adverſaries, who continually meditated their Deſtruction. During this time the Queen's Intereſt declined; who, for ſhewing ſome Relentings at the Severity uſed to the Lords, and expreſſing her diſlike at the overgrown Authority of the two wicked Favourites, by whoſe Perſuaſions ſhe was ſenſible the King her Husband abandon'd her Company and Bed, was extreamly hated by them: ſo that they continued their impious Artifices to allure the King into the Company of Harlots, and to avoid any Converſe with her. And it did appear, that they working upon the King's Inclination, were the principal Adviſers of that ſharp Revenge upon the Lords

for their own ambitious and avaritious Ends, whereby at length they brought inevitable Ruin upon their Sovereign, which the following Inſtance ſeems plainly to confirm. Among thoſe who were condemned for joining with the Earl of *Lancaſter*, there was one poor Fellow, for whoſe Life, becauſe he had long continued at Court, many great Courtiers interceeded, and preſs'd the Matter ſo far, that the King in a rage replied; *A Plague on you, for a Company of curſed Whiſperers, malicious Backbiters, Flatterers, and wicked Counſellors, who can beg ſo heartily for the ſaving the Life of a notorious wicked Knave, and yet could not ſpeak a Word in the behalf of that moſt noble Knight Earl* Thomas *of* Lancaſter, *my near Kinſman, whoſe Life and Counſels would now have been of great Uſe and Service to the Kingdom; whereas this Wretch, the longer he lives, the more Villanies will he commit, having already made himſelf notorious throughout the Realm for his horrid Crimes and Outrages, for which (by the Soul of God) he ſhall die the Death he hath juſtly deſerved.* And he was accordingly executed. This may be ſome Evidence that the King was over-perſuaded to commit thoſe Tragedies upon the Lords, for he was reckoned to be naturally merciful, and devout according to the Religion of thoſe Times, but fatally miſled by depraved Counſellors; though he is therein inexcuſable, ſince it is uſually ſaid, *That Good-Nature cannot ſuffer for publick Errors and Miſchiefs.*

The *Spencers* ſtill continued their profligate Courſes, and aſpiring to more abſolute Dominion, reſolved to leave nothing unattempted that might rivet them in the Affections of the King, and enrich themſelves; which begot an implacable Enmity in the People both againſt them and their Maſter: Their Inſolence was ſuch, that they abridg'd the Queen of her uſual Allowance, ſo that ſhe had not wherewith to maintain herſelf, while themſelves abounded in all manner of Plenty and Magnificence; which cauſed her publickly

to

to complain, *That the Daughter and ſole Heir of the King of* France *was marrsed to a miſerable Wretch, who did not allow her Neceſſaries; and that, though promiſed to be a Queen, ſhe was now become no better than a waiting Gentlewoman, ſubſiſting only upon a Penſion from the Spencers.* And dreading their Malice, ſhe took her eldeſt Son Prince *Edward*, and privately withdrew into *France* to her Brother *Charles*, by whom ſhe was kindly received, and comforted with ſolemn Oaths and Promiſes, that he would effectually aſſiſt her againſt all her Enemies, and redreſs the Grievances of the Kingdom. Awhile after, the Barons, by their Letters, aſſured her of their beſt Help and Service to Herſelf and Son, declaring, that if ſhe would return to *England* with a thouſand Men, they would raiſe ſo great a Strength to join them, as ſhould make the *Spencers* feel the Smart of their unſufferable Follies. The Queen was rejoiced with the Hopes of Succeſs. But the two *Spencers* doubting the Event, if ſhe ſhould return with Forces, and having the Kingdom at Command, they corrupted K. *Charles* and his Council with ſuch prodigious Sums of Gold and Silver, and ſuch rich Jewels, that not only all Succour was deny'd her, but the *French* King reprimanded her ſharply for having ſo undutifully forſaken her Lord and dear Huſband. Yea, the Pope (and many of the Cardinals) being engaged with rich Preſents by the *Spencers*, requir'd K. *Charles*, under the Penalty of Curſing, to ſend the Queen and Prince to K. *Edward*. And doubtleſs ſhe had been unnaturally betray'd by her own Brother, had ſhe not privately made her Eſcape to the Earl of *Heynault* in *Germany*, where ſhe was entertained with Joy by the Earl and the Lord *Beaumont* his Brother, who reſolved to accompany her into *England*.

King *Edward* and his profligate Favourites having Intelligence of their Intentions, he ſent to demand his Wife and Son; but not ſucceeding, and the *Spencers* knowing that if there ſhould be an Agreement be-

tween

tween the King, his Queen, and the Barons, they muſt have been made Sacrifices to appeaſe the Reſentments of the People, reſolve to make the Breach irreconcileable, by perſuading the King to proclaim the Queen and Prince, with all their Adherents, Traytors and Enemies to the King and Kingdom; baniſhing all that he thought were well affected to them, and keeping a ſevere Eye over the diſcontented Barons; and it was reported, that a ſecret Plot was laid to have taken away the Lives both of the Queen and her Son. While the Queen continued in *Heynault*, ſhe concluded a Marriage between the Prince, then about fourteen Years old, and the Lady *Philippa*, that Earl's Daughter; and ſoon after, with 300 Knights, and 1700 common Soldiers, *Germans* and *Engliſh*, commanded by the Earl of *Heynault*, with the Earls of *Kent* and *Pembroke*, the Lord *Beaumont*, and many other *Engliſhmen* of Quality, ſhe arrived at *Orwell* in *Suffolk*. Upon the firſt Intelligence of their landing, the Lords and Barons, with joyful Hearts, and numerous Troops of reſolute Gallants compleatly armed, repaired to her Aſſiſtance, ſo that her Forces hourly encreaſed.

Her Arrival being reported to the King, he, poor Prince! was ſo ſurprized, that he knew not what Courſe to take, being as deſtitute of Friends and Means to defend himſelf, as he was of Courage and Counſel. However, he requeſted Aid of the Citizens of *London*, whoſe Anſwer was, *That they would honour with all Duty the King, Queen, and Prince their Son, who was lawful Heir to the Kingdom; but that they would ſhut their Gates againſt all Foreigners and Traitors to the Realm, and with all their Powers withſtand them; but that they were obliged to go no further out of their City to fight, than that, according to their Charter, they might return Home again before Sunſet.* This uncertain Anſwer ſo diſcourag'd the King, that he reſolv'd to withdraw to the Marches of *Wales* for the levying an Army, attended with the two *Spencers*, and *Baldock* Biſhop of *Norwich*,

Norwich, their intimate Friend. Before he went, he ordered the Tower of *London* to be fortify'd, which he committed to the Cuſtody of Sir *John Weſton*, it being well provided with Men and Victuals; leaving alſo to his Care his younger Son, called Lord *John* of *Eltham*, with the Counteſs of *Glouceſter*, the King's Niece, Wife to the younger *Spencer*, and gave the Government of the City to *Walter Stapilton*, Biſhop of *Exeter* (a Creature of the *Spencers*) his chief Treaſurer; cauſing a Proclamation to be publiſhed, enjoining all his Subjects to oppoſe, kill, and deſtroy all the Partakers with the Queen; herſelf, her Son, and the Earl of *Kent*, his Half-Brother, only excepted. On the other Side, the Queen made Proclamation, *That no Perſon whatſoever ſhould receive any Damage from her Army, but only thoſe two notorious Miſcreants the* Spencers, Baldock *Lord Chancellor, and their Aſſociates; and that ſhe came over for no other end, but to bring to condign Puniſhment thoſe notorious Traytors and Miſleaders of the King, promiſing a thouſand Pound to any who ſhould bring her the Head of the younger* Spencer.

The King had no ſooner took his laſt leave of the City, and thereby of his Crown and Dignity, but the *Londoners*, ſcorning to ſubmit to their inſolent Governour, apprehended *Stapilton* and two of his Servants, and without any Tryal beheaded them at the Standard in *Cheapſide*, with one *John Marſhal*, a Citizen and Friend of the *Spencers*. They likewiſe ſurprized the Tower, killing all that oppoſed them, and declared Lord *John*, the King's Son, keeper of the City, ſecuring both for the Queen and the young Prince. All Priſoners in the Kingdom were likewiſe ſet at liberty, and all baniſhed Men recall'd, which much augmented the Queen's Power.

The King hearing of this Revolt, alter'd his Purpoſe of raiſing Forces: But whither could this poor Prince fly? What Courſe could he take for his own Safety? who, to gratify a few profligate Miſcreants, had

had made his Wife, his Son, his Nobility, and his People, his avowed Enemies. At length he concluded to go to *Briſtol*, which he fortified as ſtrongly as he was able, giving the Government of the Town to the Earl of *Arundel*, *Hugh Spencer* the Elder, himſelf with the younger *Spencer* retiring into the Caſtle, which they reſolved to defend.

The Queen marched from *Oxford* to *Glouceſter*, in her way to *Briſtol*, which ſhe deſigned to beſiege, her Forces encreaſing all the Way; the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Marſhal*, the Lords *Piercy* and *Wake*, and other Noblemen both from *Wales* and the *North*, with the Biſhops of *Hereford*, *Ely*, and *Lincoln*, and a great number of Barons, Knights and Gentlemen, coming in to her Aſſiſtance. With this great Army ſhe arrived at *Briſtol*, and beſieged it. The City was taken in a few Days, with the elder *Spencer* the Governour, whom the Queen, at the earneſt Importunity of the People, commanded to be hanged in his Armour on the common Gallows without the City, and then cut down alive, his Bowels taken out, and burnt before his Eyes, his Head cut off, and his Body hanged up again by the Feet for four Days as a miſerable Spectacle to all Beholders; his Body was after cut to Pieces, and given to the Dogs, and his Head ſet upon *Wincheſter* Caſtle.

The King, the younger *Spencer*, and Biſhop *Baldock*, diſtruſting their Ability to defend the Caſtle, retired ſecretly in the Night, and getting into a ſmall Fiſher-boat, determin'd to fly into the Iſle of *Lundy*, in the Mouth of the River *Severn*, about two Miles in length, and as many broad, ſtored with Rabbits, Pigeons and other Fowls, incompaſſed with the Sea, and having only one Paſſage in it, ſo narrow, that two Men can ſcarce go abreaſt. But Providence ſeemed to withſtand their Purpoſe, ſo that every Day for a Week or more, when they attempted to row their Boat thither, the Wind and Waves drove it back again toward the Caſtle,

Caſtle, which being at length perceived by the Lord *Beaumont*, he chaſed the Fiſher-boat with a ſmall Veſſel, and boarding it, found therein the King, young *Spencer*, and *Baldock*, whom they ſo much deſired, and brought them to the Queen, who cauſed them to be carried and ſet in ſight of the Beſieged in the Caſtle, which was ſtill defended by *Hugolin*, Grandchild to the elder *Spencer*, with much Courage; who now finding no Hope of Relief, ſurrender'd it, upon condition to have his own and his Companions Lives ſaved.

Some Authors write, That the King going into a Veſſel out of *Briſtol* Caſtle, deſigned to fly into *Ireland*, and that after he had wander'd a Week upon the Sea, Sir *Thomas Blount*, one of his Friends, forſaking him, and going to the Queen, he came aſhore in *Glamorganſhire*, where, with his few Followers, he entruſted himſelf with the *Welſh*, who had ſtill a Kindneſs for him. The King not appearing, Proclamation was made, *That the Barons and People deſired his Return to the Exerciſe of the Government, provided he would remedy what was amiſs.* Whereupon *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, Brother to the late Earl, Sir *William Zouch*, and *Rice ap Howel*, who had all Lands in *Wales*, were ſent with Money and Forces to diſcover him; which ſo prevailed upon the *Welſhmen*, that they delivered him up, with the younger *Spencer*, *Baldock*, and one *Simon Reading*, and received a Reward of 2000 *l.* They were brought to the Queen, who was then at *Hereford*, with *Adam Tarlton*, the active Biſhop; and the King was convey'd by the Earl of *Lancaſter* to *Kenelworth* Caſtle. After which the Queen and Prince, attended by the Barons, and a ſtrong Army, marched toward *London*, carrying with them the younger *Spencer* in Chains like a Slave, before whom ſome Fidlers ſcornfully play'd upon Pipes made of Reeds, skipping, dancing and ſinging through every Town as they paſſed along. *Spencer*, and *Simon Reading*, another evil Inſtrument, were ſentenced to Death by Sir *William Truſſel* as Traytors. *Spencer* in

his

his Armour was with all manner of Scorn and Insults from the People, dragg'd to a Gallows set up on purpose fifty Foot high, where being hanged, he was cut down, beheaded, and quarter'd; his Head set upon *London-bridge*, and his Quarters in four principal Towns of the Kingdom. *Simon Reading* was hanged ten Foot lower on the same Gallows, and *Robert Badlock* was committed Prisoner to *Newgate*, where with Grief and hard Usage he soon after dy'd. This happen'd in 1326.

Thus Divine Vengeance pursu'd these two ambitious and profligate Wretches the *Spencers*, Father and Son, and brought those who set at defiance the Nobility, Gentry, and People to such ignominious Deaths as by their vile Actions they had justly merited; since by their profligate Counsels they prevail'd upon the King to commit all kind of Enormities, by forsaking the Bed of his lawful Wife, and living in all manner of Debauchery with common Strumpets; by destroying his Nobility and Gentry; by all kind of Rapines upon the common People; by suffering their Enemies to plunder and beggar them without any redress; and by many other Misdemeanous, which render'd him odious to his Subjects, made him rule rather like a Tyrant than a King, and occasion'd his Deposition and Death, which soon after happen'd.

For the Queen having summoned a Parliament, it was by general Consent of the three Estates concluded, That King *Edward* should reign no longer, but his Son the Prince should be advanced to the Throne; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* preaching a Sermon, and taking for his Text this Maxim, *Vox Populi Vox Dei, The Voice of People is the Voice of God*; exhorting all his Auditors to pray to the King of Kings to bless and prosper the King that they had elected. The Queen seem'd very sorrowful, and even distracted at her Husband's Deposition, and the Prince lamented for his Mother's Grief, swearing he would not accept of the Crown without his Father's Consent. To content them both,

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Commiſſioners are ſent to the King, who perſuaded him to make a formal Reſignation of the Government, and then his Son was crowned King. Not long after, the Father being removed to *Corf* Caſtle, was barbarouſly murder'd by his Keepers, who through a Horn run a burning hot Spit into his Fundament, of which he inſtantly died. I ſhall add no more, having already given a particular Account of his Reſignation and Death, in a Book called *Admirable Curioſities and Rarities in every County in* England, *&c.* To which I refer the Reader.



Queen

Queen Isabel.



Remarks *upon the Life, Actions, and fatal Fall of* Roger Mortimer, *Earl of* March, *and Favourite to Queen* Isabel, *Widow to King* Edward II. *and Mother to King* Edward III.

SUCH is the Malignity of human Nature, that though there are daily Examples of divine Vengeance executed upon notorious Offenders, yet Men continue to perpetrate the same Crimes that plunged their Predeceſſors into Miſery and Ruin. Of this, *Roger*

ger Mortimer is an obvious Witneſs; who, though he were an Eye-witneſs of the fatal Fall of the three unfortunate Favourites, *Gaveſton* and the two *Spencers*, with divers of their Aſſociates, in the former Reign, yea tho' he himſelf was inſtrumental in their Deſtruction, and active in pretending to reform the Grievances of the Kingdom; yet no ſooner was K. *Edward* by his means depoſed, and a young Prince advanced to the Throne under the Government of his Mother, but he, by managing the Queen, occaſion'd many Miſchiefs not much inferior to thoſe of the former abhorred Minions, yea exceeding their Wickedneſs in one Point, namely, in being criminally concerned with the Queen Dowager, which was one of the Articles the Parliament charged him with. But as he diſregarded theſe Warnings, and impudently committed the like Faults, ſo the Juſtice of Heaven viſited him with the ſame deſerved Puniſhment.

He was deſcended from *Roger*, called, *the Great Lord Mortimer* of *Wigmore*, in the Marſhes of *Wales*, who was his Grandfather, and reviv'd and erected again the Round Table at *Kenelworth*, after the antient Order of King *Arthur*'s Table, with the Retinue of 100 Knights and 100 Ladies in his Houſe, for entertaining ſuch Adventurers as came thither from all Parts of Chriſtendom. This young *Roger* inherited his Eſtate and Grandeur. Queen *Iſabel*, Wife to K. *Edward* II. and Daughter to *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, being, in the Glory of her Youth, forſaken by the King her Husband, who delighted only in the Company of *Pierce Gaveſton*, his Minion and Favourite, ſhe fell paſſionately in Love with the Lord *Wigmore*, tho' before ſhe was accounted the moſt virtuous Lady of that Age.

After the Death of *Gaveſton*, the King, inſtead of being reformed, was preſently infatuated with the Love of two others, the *Spencers*, Father and Son, who were as bad, if not worſe than he for Debauchery. Whereupon the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Warwick*, *Lincoln*, and others,

others, rise in Arms against them, they having taken an Oath to K. *Edward* I. on his Death-bed, to oppose his Son *Edward*, if ever he recalled *Gaveston* from Exile. And finding that his Death had not much better'd the State of the Kingdom, they thought themselves oblig'd by the same Oath to endeavour the Ruin of them also, and thereby the redressing the many Oppressions under which the Nation groaned. This *Roger* Lord *Wigmore*, a Man of an invincible Spirit, and his Uncle *Roger Mortimer* the Elder, resolved to join with the Lords in this Attempt, and being very busy in raising Forces, were taken before they could muster them, and by the King committed to the Tower of *London*. But the Queen, by means of *Tarlton* Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Beck* Bishop of *Durham*, and Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, both mighty Men in the State, prevail'd so far, that the King, upon their Submission, was somewhat pacify'd. But afterward, when he had gained a great Victory against the Barons, the young Lord *Wigmore* and his Uncle were condemned to be drawn and hanged at *Westminster*, and the Day of Execution was appointed. Whereupon the younger *Wigmore* some time before pretended to make a great Feast in Honour of his Birthday, inviting thereunto Sir *Stephen Seagrave*, Constable of the Tower, with the rest of the Officers belonging thereto, and after he had made them merry, he gave to each a large Cup of a sleepy Drink prepared by Q. *Isabel*, by which means he made his Escape, breaking out of his Chamber, and with a strong Ladder of Ropes provided by a Friend, got over the Wall, leaving the Ropes fasten'd thereunto, which the next Day were beheld with Astonishment, considering the Danger of the Attempt. He then swam over the *Thames* into *Kent*, and avoiding the Highways, came to the Seaside near *Portsmouth*, where happily meeting with a Ship bound for *France*, he passed over, and lived in that Country several Years. His Uncle *Roger* was detained in a lothsom Prison five Years, but at length died, and was buried

buried at *Briſtol*. King *Edward* was ſo enraged at his Eſcape, that he turned Sir *Stephen Seagrave* out of his Conſtableſhip, and ſeveral Citizens were ſeized, and accuſed of being acceſſary to his getting away, and of correſponding with and maintaining him beyond Sea; but there not being ſufficient Proof againſt them, they were all acquitted.

Mortimer continued in *France* till Queen *Iſabel* and the Prince arrived there to avoid the Inſults of the two *Spencers*. He after attended the Queen into *Germany*, and came over with her and the reſt of the *Engliſh* Lords, the E. of *Heynault*, and ſeveral *German* and *Engliſh* Forces. And upon K. *Edward*'s Flight, and afterward his Seizing and Impriſonment, *Mortimer* managed all Affairs according to his own Pleaſure: And the Death of the *Spencers*, *Reading*, and ſome others, not ſatisfying his Revenge, being high in the Queen's Favour, who could not deny him the Head of a few of his Enemies, he procured, that the Earl of *Arundel*, and two Gentlemen more, named *John Daniel* and *Thomas Mochelden*, againſt whom he had a particular Averſion, ſhould be beheaded at *Hereford*. After this, the Queen, her Son, and the beloved *Mortimer*, went to *Wallingford* Caſtle, where they kept their *Chriſtmas* with all manner of Jollitry. From thence they proceeded to *London*, where the Queen and Prince were receiv'd with much Joy, and many rich Preſents. A Parliament being called, it was concluded, that King *Edward* ſhould be depoſed, and his Son advanc'd to the Throne. In the Management whereof *Mortimer* diſcovered much Zeal, as hoping thereby to become chief Miniſter of State, as well as principal Favourite of the Queen. K. *Edward* being depoſed accordingly, was confined to *Kennelworth* Caſtle, the Queen, *Roger Mortimer*, and *Tarlton* Biſhop of *Hereford*, having concluded to allow an hundred Marks a Month for his Expences.

And

And now it was hoped, that the Kingdom having ſuffered ſo many Concuſſions and Miſeries for ſeveral Years, would have been reſtored to its former Tranquility. But it ſoon appeared, that though it had changed its Maſter, yet other evil Inſtruments ſucceeded to diſquiet the already haraſſed People. So that one Hiſtorian writes thus, *The Beginning of the Reign of King* Edward III. *was very troubleſom; for he, by reaſon of his tender Age, being but fifteen Years old when he came to the Crown, was drawn aſide by evil Counſel, and committed many foul Errors of State and Government.* The chief Occaſion of which, were the Queen, her Darling *Roger Mortimer*, and ſome others. For firſt they procured ſo great a part of the Revenue to be ſettled for maintaining the Queen and her Family, that the young King had ſcarce a third Part of it for his Attendants and Officers. So ſhe and her Favourite *Mortimer* lived in the greateſt State and Grandeur, inſomuch that the People began to exclaim againſt him, and ſay publickly, That the Hatred he ſhewed againſt the Rapines of the *Spencers*, was not becauſe they had been oppreſſive to the Subject, but that he was deſirous no Body ſhould abuſe them but himſelf. Secondly, The Queen and he having Intelligence that ſeveral great Perſons, and the whole Order of Friars Preachers, taking Pity of the late King's Captivity, ſeemed to conſult for his Deliverance; and knowing that his Reſtoration would be their Confuſion, they contrived to add Murder to their former Impieties, and *Roger Mortimer* was ſent with that ambiguous Order to his Keepers, deviſed by *Tarlton* Biſhop of *Hereford*,

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt.

To ſhed King Edward's *Blood*
Refuſe to fear I count it good.

Where,

Where, by leaving out the Stops, they ſufficiently incouraged the Murderers, who produced the Writing for their own Juſtification, when the horrid Fact was committed. Though this was far from clearing them from the Guilt of it in the Opinion of the Vulgar, who had before heard, that though the Queen in her outward Deportment pretended much Grief for the Impriſonment of her Husband, yet inſtead of viſiting him in his Diſtreſs, which he often deſired, as ſtill retaining a great Love for her, ſhe only ſent him fine Clothes and kind Letters, but, contrary to the Laws of God and Man, refrained from rendering him any Nuptial Duties, which they plainly reported ſhe beſtow'd freely enough upon her bloody Adulterer *Mortimer*; ſhe pretending in the mean time, that Reaſons of State would not allow her to converſe with him. And ſoon after, this deſolate Prince was, by an expreſs Order from the young King, procur'd by them, remov'd from *Kennelworth* to *Corf-Caſtle*, and there miſerably depriv'd of his Life. Thirdly, In the ſecond Year of the young King's Reign, *Robert Bruce* King of *Scotland* denounced War againſt him, which occaſion'd the raiſing an Army of 50000 Men, with which the King, accompanied by the Queen Mother, *Roger Mortimer*, the Lord *Heynault*, *John* L. *Beaumont*, and many others of the Nobility and Gentry, marched towards the *Scots*, who had invaded *England*. The *Engliſh* ſo happily encompaſs'd them in the Wood of *Wiridale* and *Stanhope* Park, that they ſeemed fully aſſured of Victory: Yet by the Treachery of *Roger Mortimer*, they were not only ſuffered to eſcape without any Loſs; but Sir *James Douglas*, in the Dead of the Night, with 200 Light-Horſe, aſſaulted the King's own Pavilion, and had certainly killed him, had not one of his Chaplains, a valiant Man, ſacrificed his own Life in defence of his Sovereign's. *Douglas*, after this bold Attempt, eſcap'd back without Damage, but not without Honour for his daring Courage. This Misfortune was afterward

charged

charged upon *Mortimer*, as designing, by the Death of the King, to usurp the Crown. The *Scots* left their Camp entire behind them, and therein 500 Oxen and Cows ready killed, 1000 Spits full of Roast-Meat, 500 Cauldrons made of Cow-hides, with the Hair on, full of Flesh boiling over Fires, and 10000 Pair of Shoes, made of raw Hides, with the Hair outward; all which became a welcome Booty to the *English* Soldiers. Fourthly, After this dishonourable Retreat of the King, who was extreamly grieved to return so ingloriously, notwithstanding the Expence of a vast Treasure, and the imminent Danger of his own Person, and just before the Death of K. *Robert*, who died of the Leprosy, being accounted one of the most valiant Warriors of that Age, as having redeemed his Country from Slavery, and by whose Loss it appeared of how much Value the Courage and Conduct of a Prince is; yet before he died, by the Contrivance of the Queen Mother, *Roger Mortimer*, and their Adherents, such a dishonourable Peace was made with the *Scots*, as displeased the whole Kingdom, and in the end proved fatal to the principal Actor, *Mortimer*. For at this Treaty the King, then in his Minority, seal'd Charters to the *Scots* at *Northampton*, contrived by the Queen, her Favourite, and Sir *James Douglas*, without the Knowledge or Consent of the Peers of *England*, whereby that famous Charter, called *Ragman's Roll*, was surrender'd to them, with several Jewels, and among them, one of an extraordinary Value, called *The black Cross of Scotland*, all which were taken from the *Scots* by the victorious K. *Edward* I. The *Scots* Kings were likewise discharged for ever from doing Homage to the Kings of *England*, or acknowledging them to have any Right or Superiority over that Kingdom: And that all *Englishmen* should forfeit their Lands in *Scotland*, unless they went and resided there, and swore Allegiance to that King. Moreover, under pretence of Reparation for Damages, K. *Robert* was

oblig'd

obliged to pay the K. of *England* 30000 Marks *Sterling*, which Money was given to *Mortimer* as a Reward for his procuring this mischievous Treaty. And to conclude all, *David Bruce*, Prince of *Scotland*, a Child of 7 or 8 years old, and Heir to King *Robert*, married *Jane*, Sister to King *Edward* at *Berwick*; whom the *Scots* in derision both of the Peace and Marriage scornfully nick-named, *Jane Make-Peace*.

Lastly, The Queen and *Mortimer* being sensible that some of the principal Nobility disliked their Proceedings and absolute Government; they resolved to remove them out of the Way, and among others *Edward* Earl of *Kent*, the King's Uncle: To effect this, it is said, *Mortimer* caused a Report to be spread that King *Edward* II. was still alive at *Corf* Castle, but not to be seen in the day time; and to countenance the Deceit, for many Nights together, there were Lights set up in all the Windows of the Castle, and an Appearance made of Masking, Dancing, and other Royal Solemnities, as if for the King's diversion. This being observed by the Country People, they confirmed the Rumour of the late King's being there, which was soon dispersed throughout *England*. The Earl of *Kent* hearing the News, sent a preaching Friar to the Castle to find out the Truth; who by giving Money to the Porter, was admitted into the Castle, lying privately in his Lodge all day. Night being come, the Porter caus'd the Friar to change Cloaths with him, and then the Friar was admitted into the Hall, where, as he imagin'd, he saw the King sitting in Royal Majesty at Supper. The Friar returning to the Earl, assured him of the reality of what he had seen; whereupon the Earl being discontented, swore he would endeavour by all ways possible to deliver his Brother out of Prison, and restore him to his Throne, ingaging several of the Noblemen in the Design, with the Provincial of the White and Carmelite Friars, the Bishop of *London*, and others. This Conspiracy being discover'd,

tho' it were only a Fancy, the Friar being impoſed upon by a King made of Clouts, yet the Earl of *Kent*, by his Words and ſome Letters found about him, was condemn'd as a Traytor, for conſpiring to ſet a dead Man at Liberty: But ſo generally beloved was this noble Lord, that he ſtood upon the Scaffold at the Caſtle Gate at *Winchester*, from Noon till Five at Night for want of an Executioner, none being to be found that would behead him, till at length *Mortimer* ſent for a poor wretched Fellow out of Goal, who, with many Blows, hack'd his Head from his Body.

Mortimer and his Aſſociates making ſo little Conſcience of ſhedding Royal Blood, with their other male Adminiſtrations, it raiſed inveterate Diſcontent againſt them: But they reſolved to ſupport their Grandure in deſpight of Peers and People, and ſummoned a Parliament at *Nottingham*, where *Roger Mortimer* appeared in much Splendor, being created Earl of *March*, having greater Attendance and ſtronger Guards than the King himſelf, and walked as his Companion, yea went before him with his Officers. He likewiſe inſolently rebuked the Earl of *Lancaſter*, the King's Couſin, that without his leave he had taken up Lodgings in the Town ſo near the Queen, and obliged him, with the Earls of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, to remove a Mile from *Nottingham*. This notorious Affront cauſed great Murmuring among the Nobility, who ſaid publickly, *That* Roger Mortimer, *the Queen's Gallant and the King's Maſter, ſought to deſtroy all the Royal Blood, thereby to uſurp the Crown*; which ſome of the King's Friends being concern'd at, endeavoured to make him ſenſible of his Danger, ſwearing, *That if he would eſpouſe their Cauſe, they would faithfully aſſiſt him, and ſecure his Perſon.*

The young King began already to act the Man much beyond his years; ſo that the Lords prevailed upon him to join with them in aſſerting his own Authority, which he himſelf ſaw ſo much leſſen'd by *Mortimer's*

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over-grown Power. He was likewiſe informed, that it was commonly reported the Queen was with Child by *Mortimer*, to the great diſhonour both of his Mother and himſelf, and the Grief of all his Loyal Subjects: Hereupon he reſolutely ingaged with the Peers to bring this Miſcreant and his Abettors to Puniſhment. In order to which, *R. Holland*, who had been long Governor of *Nottingham* Caſtle, and knew all the ſecret Conveyances therein, was taken into the Deſign: Now there was in the Caſtle a private Paſſage cut through the Rock upon which it was built, divided into two ways, one opening toward the River *Trent*, which runs under it, and the other went a great deal farther under the adjoining Meadows, and was after called *Mortimer's Hole*. The King lying one Night without the Caſtle, was conducted by Torch-light thro' this Paſſage, and he, with ſeveral valiant Attendants, being well arm'd, and their Swords drawn, came to the Door of the Queen's Bed Chamber, which the ſecure and careleſs Lords had left wide open: Some of the foremoſt entred the Room, deſiring the King to retire a little, that the Queen might not ſee him, and ſlew Sir *Hugh Turpington*, who oppoſed them; they then went towards the Queen Mother, with whom they found *Mortimer*, both juſt ready to go into Bed, and ſeizing him led him into the Hall, whom the Queen following, crying out, *Bel filz, bel filz, ayes pitie de gentil Mortimer*, Good Son, take pity upon the gentle *Mortimer*! for ſhe ſuſpected the King was there, tho' ſhe did not ſee him. Then were the Keys ſent for, and all the Caſtle, with the Ammunition and Proviſions deliver'd up to the King ſo ſecretly, that none without the Caſtle had any Knowledge of it, but only the King's Friends. This was counted a very daring Enterprize in regard that *Mortimer* had uſually 180 Knights, beſides Eſquires and Gentlemen, as a conſtant Guard for the Security of his Perſon.

The next Morning early *Roger Mortimer* and his Accomplices were carried with mighty Shoutings and Rejoycings of the common People (the poor Earl of *Lancaſter*, tho' blind, making up the Cry) toward *London*, and was committed to the *Tower*; and ſoon after, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, was condemn'd by his Peers, without being brought to Trial, by a Law of *Mortimer*'s own contriving, whereby the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Wincheſter*, *Gloceſter*, and *Kent* were formerly put to Death. The following Articles of High Treaſon were laid to his Charge:

1. That he was conſenting in the Murther of the King's Father. 2. That he treacherouſly occaſioned much Loſs and Diſhonour to the King at *Stanhope Park*, by procuring the Eſcape of the *Scots*, for which he had received a great Sum of Money. 3. That he cauſed ſeveral ancient Deeds and Charters to be burnt, wherein the King of *Scots* was obliged to do Homage to the King of *England*, and had made a diſhonourable Contract between the King's Siſter, and *David Bruce* King *Robert*'s Son. 4. That he had been an evil Counſellor to the King, and too familiar with the Queen Mother. All which Articles are ſum'd up in the following ragged Rhymes, which might very well have been in Proſe; but for their Antiquity and Brevity, I will here inſert them:

Five heinous Crimes againſt him ſoon were had;
1. *That he cauſ'd the King to yield to the* Scot,
To make a Peace, Towns that were from them got,
And therewithal the Charter called Ragman.
2. *He by the* Scots *was brib'd for private gain.*
3. *That by his means King* Edward *of* Carnarvan,
In Berkley *Caſtle treacherouſly was ſlain.*
4. *That with his Prince's Mother he had lain.*
5. *And finally with polling at his pleaſure,*
Had rob'd the King and Commons of their Treaſure.

For

For these Treasons he was sentenced to be hanged, and ignominiously drawn in a Sledge to *Tyburn*, then called the *Elms*, and there upon the common Gallows he was as ignominiously executed, hanging by the King's command, two days and two nights, a pleasing Spectacle to the wronged People: There died with him Sir *Simon Bedford* and *John Deverel*, Esq; as well for the Expiation of the late King *Edward's* detestable Murther, as in complement, as it were, to so great a Man's fall, who seldom perish without company.

The King, by the advice of Parliament, deprived the Queen of her excessive Dowry, allowing her only a 1000 *l.* a Year, and confining her to a Monastery during Life, but gave her the Honour of a Visit once or twice a Year, tho' he judg'd her scarce worthy to live, in regard of her Debaucheries with *Mortimer*, and many other heinous Practices.

From the sudden Ruin of this great Favourite *Mortimer*, we may remark what Inchantments Honour, Riches, and Power are to the minds of Men, how suddenly and strangely they blow them up with Contempt of others, and forgetfulness of themselves? And surely the uncertainty of worldly Felicity is very visible in this great Person, who when he was drunk as it were with all human Happiness, so that he seemed to fear neither God nor Man, was suddenly overtaken by divine Justice, and brought to utter confusion, when he least dreamt of it! But if it was very equitable, that he who would not take Example by the wretched Fate of his favourite Predecessors, should himself be made an Example by the like shameful and ignominious Death.

King Richard III.



Remarks *on the Life of* Henry Stafford, *Duke of* Buckingham, *Favourite to King* Richard III.

TWO or three conſiderable Remarks do naturally reſult from the following Hiſtory. 1. That Tyrants being but ſingle Perſons, could never perpetrate the many Miſchiefs they are uſually guilty of, had they not proper Inſtruments to employ therein. 2. That the Pravity of Mankind is ſo deplorable, that the

the Temptations of Honour and Riches too often prevail upon Men, and engage them in the moſt vile and deſtructive Deſigns. 3. That thoſe who are employ'd by Tyrants muſt never boggle at the greateſt Villanies; ſince if they be not as thoroughly wicked as their Maſter, he will account them his implacable Enemies, and they are ſubject to be juſtly ruined by his unjuſt and revengeful Hand.

All theſe Maxims ſeem verify'd in the Life, Actions, and Fall of this great Man, *Henry Stafford*, D. of *Buckingham*. He was Son to *Humfrey Stafford* of *Brecnockſhire* in *Wales*, who was created Duke of *Buckingham*, and Lord High Conſtable of *England*, by K. *Henry* VI. being deſcended from a Daughter of *Thomas Woodſtock*, youngeſt Son to King *Edward* III. and very inſtrumental in advancing him to his uſurped Throne; as by the following Relation appears.

When King *Edward* IV. died, he left two Sons, *Edward* his Succeſſor of thirteen, and *Richard* Duke of *York* of eleven Years of Age. The young King and his Brother were by their Father's Will committed to the Care of the Earl of *Rivers*, the Queen's Brother, whom he made Protector of the King during his Minority. The Court was at this time kept at *Ludlow* to retain the *Welſh* in Obedience, who began to be unruly; and in the mean time the Earl of *Rivers* diſpoſed of all Offices and Places of Preferment. The Duke of *Gloucester*, upon his Brother's Death, poſted from the North to *London*, and finding the Queen and her Kindred had the whole Government of Affairs about the King, he was much diſpleaſed, as judging it a main Obſtacle to his Uſurpation, which it ſeems he had long before deſign'd; for it was reported, that the very Night wherein King *Edward* IV. died, one *Miſſelbrook* came early in the Morning to one *Potter* living near *Cripplegate*, and told him, the King was dead: By my troth Man (ſays *Potter*) then will my Maſter the Duke of *Gloceſter* be King; who had he not been acquainted

with his Maſter's Intentions would not thus have ſpoke. But the Duke knowing a Buſineſs of ſuch Conſequence was not to be managed alone, he aſſociated to himſelf the Duke of *Buckingham* Lord High Conſtable, and the Lord *Haſtings* Lord Chamberlain of *England*, two of the moſt powerful Men in the Kingdom; prevailing upon the former by promiſing him the Earldom of *Hereford*, and the other was hereby in hopes of being revenged upon his Enemies. So that they joined with him in Opinion, that it was not neceſſary the Queen's Kindred ſhould ſo wholly engroſs the King, and Perſons of better Birth and Nobility ſhould be neglected, and they ought to uſe their Endeavours to remove them.

The young King was now coming toward *London* with a great Attendance of Lords and their Followers, in order to his Coronation, which the Duke of *Glocester* judging to be another rub in his way, ſince he could not bring about his Purpoſes without ſeeming to make an open War; he thereupon ſends flattering Letters to the Queen, with zealous Pretences of Loyalty and Service, perſuading her to diſmiſs the great Guards about the King, ſince it might raiſe Jealouſies in the reſt of the Nobility, that her Kindred did not raiſe theſe Forces for the Security of the King's Perſon, but for ſome ſiniſter Intent, and might cauſe them to raiſe a Strength proportionable to encounter them, and ſo occaſion a Civil War in the Kingdom, wherein her Kinſmen would by all the World be judged the Aggreſſors.

Hereupon the innocent Princeſs ſends poſitive Orders to the King and her Brother, to disband their Guards for Reaſons beſt known to her ſelf (without mentioning by whoſe Advice) which if ſhe had, they would never have done it; but upon the Receipt of theſe Letters they diſcharged the Soldiers, and came on with a mean Train, and having paſſed through *Northampton*, were proceeding to *Stony Stratford*, where

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the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Buckingham* met them; who pretending the Town was too little for them and their Retinue, they went back to *Northampton*, where the Earl of *Rivers* had taken up his Quarters for that Night, intending the next Morning to follow the King. Several Compliments paſſed upon their Meeting, and Supper being ended, the two Dukes pretend to retire to reſt, and the Earl went to his Lodgings.

The two Dukes waſted a great part of the Night in conſulting with their Friends how to execute their Enterprize, and having got the Keys of the Inn Gate, they ſuffered none to go in or out; of which the Earl *Rivers* having notice, tho' he ſuſpected Miſchief, yet embolden'd by his own Innocence, he went into the Dukes Chamber, where he found the Duke of *Buckingham* and the reſt cloſely contriving their Buſineſs, with whom he expoſtulated the unreaſonableneſs of their keeping him Priſoner; but inſtead of a Reply, they command him to be ſeized, accuſing him of Crimes whereof they themſelves were only culpable, and then rode away to the King to *Stony Stratford*, who was juſt taking Horſe, whom they ſalute with much ſeeming Reverence, but preſently begin a Quarrel with the Lord *Richard Grey*, the King's half Brother. The Duke of *Buckingham* told the King, that this Lord, the Marquis of *Dorſet* his Brother, and the Earl *Rivers*, had contrived, and almoſt effected the ingroſſing the Management of all the Affairs of the Kingdom among themſelves, which might be of dangerous Conſequence, by raiſing Diſcontents among the Nobility and People; and that the Marquis had taken out of the Tower of *London* a great quantity of Money and Arms without Warrant, which might juſtly be ſuſpected not to be intended for any good End, and it was therefore thought neceſſary by the Peers, that he ſhould be ſeized at *Northampton*, to be ready to anſwer what he ſhould be charged with.

The King not being ſenſible of their Deſign, mildly anſwered, *What my Brother Marquis hath done I cannot ſay, but for my Uncle* Rivers *and my Brother here, I am well ſatisfied that they are ignorant of any unlawful Practices either againſt me or you.* Oh, ſays the Duke of *Buckingham, that hath been their Policy to conceal their Treachery from your Grace's Knowledge.* And thereupon they inſtantly, in the King's Preſence, ſeized the Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hall*, and carried the King with all his Company back to *Northampton*, and putting away all his old Officers and Servants, placed thoſe in their Rooms who were under their direction, at which harſh Uſage the young King wept, and was much diſcontented, but without remedy. Yet to colour their Intents, the Duke of *Gloceſter* being at Dinner, ſent a Diſh of Meat from his Table to the Lord *Rivers*, bidding him be of good cheer, for in a ſhort time all would be well. The Earl thanking the Duke, deſired the Meſſenger to carry the Diſh to the Lord *Richard Grey* with the ſame Meſſage for his Comfort, as one to whom ſuch Troubles were unuſual, but for himſelf he had been inured to them all his Life, and could the better bear them. But notwithſtanding this pretended kindneſs, the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſent the Earl *Rivers*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Tho. Vaughan* into the North, and afterward to *Pomfret* Caſtle, where they were all beheaded by his Order without Trial.

The Duke having gotten his Prey into his Clutches, marches with the King toward *London*, declaring to all People in the way, that the Queen's Relations had conſpired to deſtroy the King, and all the ancient Nobility, and to ſubvert the Government, and that they were taken and impriſoned in order to be brought to a legal Trial. And to make it more probable, they carried along with them divers Waggons loaden with Arms, and ſeveral Cheſts, which themſelves had provided, pretending they were full of Money, which

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the Conſpirators had provided to pay the Forces they deſigned to raiſe. But the fineſt Intrigue of all was, that five of the Duke's own Creatures were brought along in Chains, who in every Place where the King lodged were given out to be Perſons of Quality that had been drawn into this horrid Plot and Treaſon by the Queen's Brother, who being now ſenſible of their Guilt, had confeſſed the whole of theſe wicked Contrivances. This Pageantry was acted all the way till the King came to *London*, but then the Actors were diſcovered, and the Cheat was openly detected.

About Midnight of the next Day, the Queen had notice of theſe ſorrowful Accidents, and now too late repented her being ſo treacherouſly impoſed upon by the bloody Duke of *Glocester*, as to diſmiſs the Guards about her Son's Perſon by his Inſtigation, and doubting worſe would follow, ſhe with her youngeſt Son *Richard* and five Daughters, takes Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, lodging in the Abbot's Houſe there. The young King having Intelligence of theſe Things, with Sighs and Tears expreſt much Grief, but the two Dukes made ſo many Proteſtations of their Fidelity and Care of his Safety, that they ſeemed to wonder at his being any way concerned.

Soon after the Lord *Haſtings* ſent a Meſſenger to the A. B. of *York*, then Lord Chancellor to ſignify to him, that he needed not be diſturbed at what happened, aſſuring him that in a little while all would be well again. *I am ſure*, replied the Archbiſhop, *let it be as well as it will, it will never be ſo well as we have ſeen it.* And preſently after, the Archbiſhop attended by all his Servants armed, in the midſt of the Night came to the diſtreſſed Queen, whom he found ſitting alone upon an heap of Ruſhes, much diſconſolate and in Tears, whom he endeavoured to comfort by telling her, That he had good Hopes the Matter would not be ſo bad as ſhe ſuſpected, the Lord *Haſtings* having, by a Meſſenger ſent on purpoſe, aſſured him,

that

that all would end well. *Ah Wretch!* quoth the Queen, *that Man is one of them that endeavour to ruin me and my Family. Madam*, quoth the Biſhop, *pray be paciſied, for I will ingage, that if they dare preſume to Crown any but your Son whom they now have with them, the next Day we will Crown his Brother who is here with you. And Madam, I here deliver you the Great Seal which was committed to me, by that Noble Prince your Husband, and which I reſign to you, only for the Uſe and Beneſit of your Son.* But in his way home, he obſerved the River of *Thames* full of Boats, and the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Servants, watching to prevent any from going into Sanctuary without being firſt examined.

Theſe Proceedings were diſtaſtful to many of the Nobility and Citizens, doubting all this was intended againſt the King's Perſon, and to prevent his Coronation. Whereupon they went armed, and met together to conſult of the Common Safety. But the Lords of the Council being aſſembled, the A. B. of *York* fearing he ſhould be charged with want of Underſtanding for delivering the Great Seal to the Queen, without the King or Council's leave, he privately ſent for it again, which being returned, he brought it as uſually into Council. The Lord *Haſtings*, whoſe Fidelity to the King was real, aſſured the Lords, that the Duke of *Glouceſter* was faithful and loyal to his Prince, and that Lords *Rivers* and *Richard*, with the other Knights, were ſecured for ſome ſecret Practice againſt the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham*, and that the King ſhould receive no Damage thereby, and they ſhould be Priſoners but till the whole was examined before the King and Council. And adviſed the Lords not to judge of it before they had heard it, nor to turn their private Quarrels into publick Contentions, and thereby diſturb the King's Coronation, which might be of worſe Conſequence than they could at preſent imagine; for the Dukes were now coming to

London

London for that purpoſe, and if the Lords ſhould take up Arms to oppoſe them, they would be counted Rebels; ſince having the King in their Hands, they would pretend his Authority to declare them ſo to be. By theſe Arguments, ſome of which he knew to be true, and others not, but chiefly by the near Approach of the two Dukes to the City, theſe Commotions were pacified.

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs with 500 Horſe, went as far as *Hornſey* to wait upon the King, and attended him to *London*, where he arrived *May* 4. 1483, and was Lodged in the Biſhop's Palace: A great Council was then held, and the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Buckingham*, with the reſt of the Lords preſent, ſwore Allegiance to the King, and the Duke of *Gloceſter* carried himſelf ſo reſpectfully to him, that all the former Jealouſies of him vaniſhed, and he gained ſuch Reputation with the Council, that by their general Conſent he was choſe Protector of the King and Kingdom; and thus was the innocent Lamb delivered into the Cuſtody of the Ravenous Wolf. The Council ſeverely checked the A. B. of *York* for ſo inconſiderately delivering the great Seal to the Queen, which was now taken from him, and given to Doctor *Ruſſell* Bp. of *Lincoln*, one of the honeſteſt and learneſt Men of that Time. Several Knights and Gentlemen had Places beſtowed upon them; but the Lord *Haſtings* kept his Office of Lord Chamberlain as formerly, and ſo did divers others.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* knowing he could not finiſh his miſchievous Purpoſes, without having the Duke of *York* in his Hands; for without them both he might as well have had neither, therefore as his Actions had made the King melancholly, he now pretends he ought to have his Brother's Company to make him merry; and repreſented to the Lords of the Council, That it was a very heinous Crime of the Queen, to keep the King's Brother in Sanctuary, and not to let them come together

together to take Pleaſure in each others Converſation. That it might occaſion the People to have ill Thoughts of the King's Councillors, ſince the Queen durſt not truſt her Youngeſt Son in the Hands of thoſe who was appointed by the Peers of the Realm to have the Guardianſhip of the King's Royal Perſon, whoſe Duty and Office conſiſted not only in preſerving him from all Danger, but in procuring for him ſuch Recreations as were ſuitable to his Youth and Dignity, which he could not enjoy ſo properly in the Company of any as of his own Dear Brother; and adviſed, That the A.B. of *York* might be ſent to perſuade the Queen to deliver her Son out of Sanctuary, which would be ſo much to the Advantage of the young Duke the King's Moſt Noble Brother, and his Dear Nephew, and might prevent any ſiniſter Thoughts of the People, concerning the Nobility and Council. But ſhe continued obſtinate, and would not hearken to the Archbiſhop's Council, that then by the King's Authority he ſhould be forcibly taken from her, and brought to her Royal Preſence, where he ſ ould be ſo honourably treated, that the World ſhould be convinced it was only the Malice, Frowardneſs, and Folly of his Mother, which occaſioned his being kept in Priſon ſo long already.

Upon this ſubtil Speech the Council concluded the Motion to be reaſonable, as well as comfortable and honourable both to the King and his Brother, and would prevent evil Surmiſes, provided the Queen could be induced quietly to deliver him. The A. B. undertook to uſe his Endeavours to incline her to it, but added, if ſhe perſiſted in refuſing it, he thought it not to be attempted againſt her Will; for it would turn highly to the Diſhonour of God, and the diſpleaſure of the People, if the Privilege of that Holy Place ſhould be broken, which had ſo many Years been inviolably preſerved, which ſo many good Kings and Princes had confirmed, and which Holy Ground was about

about 500 Years ago by St. *Peter* in his own Perſon accompanied with great Numbers of Angels by Night, ſo miraculouſly Hallowed and Dedicated to God; for Proof whereof, they had St. *Peter*'s Copy in *Weſtminſter* Abbey to ſhow; and from that time there was never any King ſo indevout and prophane as to violate that ſacred Place, nor any Biſhop ſo Holy that durſt preſume to Conſecrate it; and therefore God forbid ſays he, that any Man for any earthly Thing ſhould preſume to break the Privilege of that Sanctuary, and I hope in God I ſhall not need to fear it, for my utmoſt Endeavours ſhall not be wanting. The other Biſhops and Clergy in the Council were of the ſame Opinion, that no violence onght to be uſed againſt the Queen or that ſacred Place. The Archbiſhop added, But my Honourable Lords, if the Mother's Fears or womaniſh Dread render my Meſſage ineffectual, I hope I ſhall receive no Prejudice in your Judgments thereby.

The Duke of *Buckingham* then made a large Harangue, to ſhew the Expediency and Reaſonableneſs of taking the young Duke out of Sanctuary by Force, if his Mother ſhould refuſe to deliver him, and the Council not having the leaſt Suſpicion of any Treachery were of the ſame Opinion, reſolving to ſit in the Star Chamber till the Archbiſhop's Return, who with divers other Lords went to the Queen in Sanctuary, both out of Reſpect to her, and to ſhew by their Number, that the Council were unanimous in the Meſſage that was ſent her; and ſome ſay, the Protector had ſeveral of his Creatures among them, who had private Inſtructions to ſeize him by Force, and bring him away if his Mother ſhould perſiſt in her Denial, thereby to prevent her conveying him to a Place of more Security.

When they came into the Queen's Preſence, the Archbiſhop acquainted her, that the Protector and all the Council had, upon mature Deliberation, concluded,

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That the detaining the King's Brother in Sanctuary, might occaſion ſtrange Surmiſes among the People, and ſeemed ſcandalous to them, as well as grievous to his Majeſty, to whom the Preſence of his Dear Brother muſt needs be as delightful as the keeping them apart was diſhonourable to her and her Kindred, as though one Brother was in danger of another: That the Council had ſent him and the reſt to require her Delivery of him; ſo that he might at full Liberty continue with the King his Brother, and be attended according to his High Birth and Quality, which would tend to the Quiet of the Realm, be pleaſing to the Council, and advantagious to herſelf, as well as her Friends now in Trouble: And above all (quoth the Archbiſhop) and what I ſuppoſe you deſire beyond all, it would not only be comfortable to the King, but to the young Duke himſelf, whoſe Happineſs it will be to partake in thoſe Princely Recreations which are ſuitable to their Dignity, and which they cannot ſo properly have in the Company of any other. For the Protector eſteems it neceſſary, that the Minds of the young Princes ſhould for their Healths be refreſh'd with Diverſions proper for their Age and Quality.

My Lord (replied the Queen) I will not deny but it may be convenient that this young Gentleman were in the Company of the King his Brother, and in truth I think it might be as neceſſary, that for a while yet, they were both in the Cuſtody and Company of their Mother, their tender Age conſidered, but eſpecially the Younger, who, beſides his Childhood, hath been lately viſited with a ſevere Sickneſs, and is not yet recovered; ſo that it's fit he ſhould be carefully attended, and that Charge will I commit to no Perſon upon Earth, but reſolve to make it my own Buſineſs, conſidering the Phyſicians tell us, a Relapſe is more dangerous than the firſt Sickneſs, for Nature being before weakened, is leſs able to endure a ſecond Combat, and though it may be others might uſe their beſt

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Skill and Diligence about him, yet none knows ſo well how to order him as myſelf, who have ſo long been with him, nor can any be ſo tender of him as his own Mother that bore him.

None can deny (quoth the Archbiſhop) but that your Grace is of all Perſons the moſt proper about your Children, and the Council would be glad that you would take Care of them, if you pleaſe to do it in a Place convenient and honourable, but if you deſign to continue here, they think it more proper that the Duke ſhould be with the King at Liberty and in Honour, to the Comfort of them both, than to live here as a Sanctuary Man, to their high Diſhonour. Since it is not always neceſſary the Child ſhould be with the Mother, but on the contrary that they be ſeperated; and of this there is a late Inſtance, That when your deareſt Son the Prince, and now King, did for his Honour and the Security of the Country reſide at *Ludlow* in *Wales* far diſtant from your Grace, yet you ſeemed well contented. Not ſo well contented neither, ſaid the Queen, but the Caſe is not now the ſame, for that Son was then in Health, and this is now Sick, and therefore I much wonder that my Lord Protector ſhould be ſo deſirous to have him in his Company, ſince if the Child ſhould happen to miſcarry, he will be ſuſpected of having uſed foul Play toward him: Neither can I but admire, that the Council ſhould think it ſo diſhonourable for him to be here, when none can doubt but he will be in Safety while I am with him, and where, by the Grace of God, I intend to continue, and not to bring myſelf into the Danger my Kindred are in, whom I wiſh to be here with me in Security. Why Madam, ſaid one of the Lords, do you know that your Kindred are in Danger? No verily Sir, ſaid ſhe, nor why they are wrongfully Impriſoned, but I ſhall not marvel if thoſe who have thus illegally confined them without Reaſon, ſhould proceed to deſtroy them without Cauſe. The Archbiſhop

Biſhop bid her forbear ſuch Diſcourſe, and told her, That he did not doubt but the Lords in Cuſtody would be quickly at Liberty, if nothing could be proved againſt them; and that her own Perſon could not be in any Peril. The Queen replied, What Reaſon have I to believe that, ſince my Kindred are as Innocent as myſelf, and all the Malice againſt us is, becauſe we are ſo near akin to the King: As for the Gentleman, my Son, I intend he ſhall be where I am till I ſee further; for I aſſure you, the more earneſt I ſee ſome Men to have him away without any real Ground, the the more I dread to part with him. And truly Madam, quoth the Archbiſhop, the more loth you are to part with him, the more afraid are other Men that you ſhould convey him away; and therefore ſince he can have no Privilege that does not ask it, nor for any Fault can want it, they will think it no breach of Privilege to take him from you by Force.

Ah Sir, quoth the Queen, hath the Protector ſo much Love and Tenderneſs for him, that he only fears he ſhould eſcape him; alas! whether ſhall I ſend him if he be not ſafe in this Sanctuary, the Privilege whereof there was never any Tyrant ſo wicked or deviliſh to break; but it ſeems my Son deſerves no Sanctuary, and therefore cannot have it: What, is this a place of Security for a Thief, and not for an Infant? But he is in no Danger, ſay they: I would to God he were not. I wiſh the Protector may prove a Protector to him, but the Matter is plain, he hath one Son already in his Hands, and could he get the other, and deſtroy them both, he would then uſurp the Crown. I ſhall give no other Account why I have ſuch a Fear, but only what the Law gives, which as Learned Men tell me, forbids any Man to have Cuſtody of one, by whoſe Death he may inherit far leſs than a Kingdom. I ſhall ſay no more, but that whoſoever breaketh this Holy Sanctuary, I pray God he may ſoon have need of one, but not enjoy it.

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The Queen proceeded in ſevere Reflections upon the Protector's Deſigns, which the Archbiſhop did not then believe, and was loth to hear; but told her in ſhort, That if ſhe would deliver her Son to him and the reſt, he durſt pawn his Soul and Body for his Safety; but if not, he did not doubt ſhe would be obliged to do it againſt her Will, and that he would never move her any more in that Matter. Theſe Words made the Queen ſtand ſilent, and conſidering ſhe had no Time or Place to ſecure him from them, the Sanctuary being ſtrongly guarded, and believed the Archbiſhop and ſome of the Lords were good Men, and would not ſee her Child wronged, and finally, that if the Protector was reſolved to have him, he would ſcruple at nothing to compaſs his Ends; ſhe took the young Duke by the Hand, and ſaid, My Lords, I neither miſtruſt your Prudence, nor am jealous of your Faithfulneſs, of which I now give you a convincing Proof, and wherein if I ſhould be miſtaken it would be a very great Affliction to me, and would bring much Miſchief to the Realm, and eternal Reproach upon yourſelves. For behold here is the Gentleman you require, whom I doubt not but I could have kept ſafe in this place, whatever is alledged to the contrary. Though I do not queſtion but I have ſome ſuch deadly Enemies to my Family, that if they thought they had a drop of it in their own Bodies, they would let it out; for we have had many Examples, that the Ambition of Sovereignty makes void all Ties of Kindred and Alliance; for this Cauſe Brothers have been the Ruin of Brothers, and may the Nephews find better uſage from their Uncle. While theſe Children are apart, the Life of one is a defence to the other, but nothing is more dangerous than that they ſhould be in one place; for no wiſe Merchant will venture all his Eſtate in one Ship; but however, here I deliver him, and his Brother in him, into your Hands, of whom I ſhall require them both in the

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ſight of God and the World, I know very well that you are both Juſt and Wiſe, and that you neither want Will nor Power to preſerve them, if you think otherwiſe pray leave him with me: But one Thing I earneſtly recommend to you; To be very Cautious, leſt while you count me too fearful, you yourſelves be not too fearleſs and ſecure.

Then turning to the Child, Come my ſweet Son, ſaid ſhe, let me Kiſs you before you go, for God knows whether ever we ſhall kiſs one another again, to whoſe Holy Protection I commit you. Having Kiſſed and Bleſſed him, ſhe turned aſide and wept, and then went away, leaving the Child weeping as faſt as ſhe. The Lords having received the Duke, brought him to the Council; as ſoon as he entred the Room, the Protector riſes up and takes him in his Arms, kiſſing and imbracing him, ſaying, *Dear Nephew, you are welcome with all my Heart, for next to my Sovereign Lord your Brother, nothing gives me ſo much Contentment as your Preſence.* Wherein it was thought he did not diſſemble, having now got the Prize he ſo much deſir'd. Soon after upon pretence of removing the two Princes into a Place of more ſecurity, till the Peoples minds were ſettled, the Protector cauſed them to be carried in great State thro' *London* to the Tower, there to continue till the Coronation, from whence they never after came abroad.

The Protector now began more openly to proſecute his Deſigns, but the Work being great, he muſt make uſe of great Men in it, and at that time none was more potent than the Duke of *Buckingham*. Some write he was privy to all the Contrivances of the Duke, from the Death of King *Edward* IV. Others thought the Protector never durſt diſcover a Matter of ſuch Conſequence to him, and that he imployed ſome cunning People to inſinuate into the Duke, that the young King had a ſecret Hatred to him for being acceſſary to the Impriſonment of his Kindred, and if he were

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ever in a Capacity would revenge it upon him; for if they ſhould be again at Liberty to be ſure they would incite him to it, and if they ſhould be put to Death it would the more inrage the King againſt him. That there was no way for the Duke to retreat or make his Peace with the King, ſince the King himſelf with his Brother and Kindred were now in ſuch ſafe Cuſtody, that the Protector, with a Word from his Mouth, could deſtroy them all, and him alſo, if he found him fall from his Intereſt.

Tho' the Duke might be troubled at what he had done, yet being ſenſible of the Protector's Cruelty, and his own Danger, he reſolved to join with him in all his traiterous Enterprizes, and ſo it was agreed between them, That the Duke ſhould aſſiſt the Protector to advance him to the Crown. In recompence of which ſervice, the Protector's Son and Heir ſhould marry the Duke's Daughter, and have the Earldom of *Hereford* ſettled upon him and his Succeſſors, which he had claimed as his Inheritance from *Edward* IV. but could never obtain it. He alſo promiſed the Duke a large Sum of the King's Money, and a great Quantity of his Houſhold-ſtuff.

Having enter'd into this curſed Combination, to delude the People, they pretend to make great preparations for Crowning the young King, all the Lords of the Council being ſummoned to appear in the Tower. But the Protector being ſenſible that the Lord *Haſtings* would be a great Obſtacle in his Way, becauſe of his Fidelity to his old Maſter King *Edward*'s Sons, he reſolved to be rid of him; and coming into Council, complimented all the Lords, ſeeming more than ordinarily merry, and after ſome other Diſcourſes, *My Lord*, ſays he to the Biſhop of *Ely*, *I hear you have very good Strawberries in your Garden in* Holborn, *pray let us have a Diſh of them. With all my Heart*, replied the Biſhop, and ſent for ſome. The Protector then roſe haſtily up, deſiring them to excuſe his Abſence for a while, and

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returned about an Hour after, extreamly disturbed and changed in his Countenance, uttering so many grievous sighs, and using such passionate gestures, that the Lords admired at the Cause thereof. He knit his Brows, and bit his Lips, and after long silence, to prepare their Attention, he ask'd confusedly, *What Punishment they deserved who had contrived the Destruction of him who was so near allied to the King, and Protector of his Person and Kingdom.* At this Question the Lords were all amazed and sate looking upon each other without speaking a word; at length the Lord *Hastings* (by the Instigation of the Duke of *Buckingham*) presuming upon his Intimacy with the Protector, replied, *That whoever they were, they deserved to be punish'd as Traytors*; to which the other Lords assented. Whereat the Protector rising up, *Why it is*, says he, *that old Sorceress my Brother* Edward's *Widow, and her Partner that common Whore* Jane Shore, *that have by Witchcraft and Inchantment contrived to take away my Life*; *and tho' by God's Mercy they have not been able to finish their Villainy, yet see the Mischief they have done me*; *for behold* (and then he shewed his left Arm) *how they have caused this dear Limb of mine to wither and grow useless, and my whole Body had been in the same miserable plight if they had executed their Wills upon me.* The Lords who knew the Virtue of the Queen, and that his Arm had been always withered from his Birth, found it a false pretence, but were so astonish'd at his Confidence that they durst not utter a word, till the Lord *Hastings* (thinking to lay all the fault upon the Queen, and excuse *Jane Shore* whom he had taken for his Mistress ever since King *Edward*'s death, and from whom he had risen that Morning) submissively answered, *If the Queen have conspired* — which he had no sooner said, but the Protector looking fiercely upon him, *What*, says he in a great Rage, *dost thou tell me of If's and And's*; *I tell thee they, and none but they have done it, and thou art Confederate with them in their Villainy.* Who

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I, my Lord? quoth he. *Yea, thou Traytor*, ſays the Protector; and therewith ſtriking a ſound Blow with his Hand upon the Table, Treaſon was cried in the next Room, and a great Number of armed Men came ruſhing in as if to guard the Protector, one of whom with a Blow of a Pole-ax, wounded the Lord *Stanley* in the Head, and had kill'd him, but that he ſunk under the Table; the reſt of the Council were ſeized, and ſecured in ſeveral Rooms. The Lord *Haſtings* the Protector charged with High Treaſon, and wiſhed him to make haſte and Confeſs himſelf, ſwearing by St. *Paul* (his uſual Oath) that he would neither eat nor drink till his Head were off: It ſignified nothing to ask a Reaſon, for he knew the Protector would give none; ſo he was carried to the Green in the Tower, where his Head was laid upon a piece of Timber, and ſtruck off.

In the Tragical End of this Lord, we may obſerve how inevitable the Strokes of Deſtiny are, for the very Night before, the Lord *Stanley* ſent a ſecret Meſſage at Midnight, to inform him of a Dream he had, in which he thought that a Boar with his Tusks had ſo gored them by the Heads, that the Blood ran about their Ears, and becauſe the Protector gave the Boar for his Arms, this Dream had made ſo dreadful an Impreſſion upon his Mind, that he reſolved not to ſtay any longer, and had his Horſe ready, requiring the Lord *Haſtings* to go along with him; and to ride ſo faſt as to be out of danger before Morning. But the Lord *Haſtings* returned this Anſwer by the Meſſenger: *Ah, good Lord! Hath thy Maſter ſuch Faith in Dreams, which either proceed from Fancy or the Thoughts of the preceeding Day; but if they foretell Things to come, why may they not preſage, that if we run away and ſhould be taken, then the Boar might have reaſon to uſe us ill: So commend me to thy Maſter, and bid him be merry and fear nothing, for I am as ſure of the Man he wotteth of as I am of my own right Hand*; meaning one *Catesby* a Lawyer,

Lawyer, who was at firſt advanced by his Favour, and now grown ſo intimate with the Protector, that he did not doubt but he would diſcover any ill Deſign againſt him. But he was much miſtaken, for he was the firſt Man that adviſed the taking off the L. *Haſtings*: Likewiſe the ſame Morning his Horſe ſtumbled twice or thrice almoſt to falling, which tho' it often happen by chance, yet has been ſometimes reckoned a token of Misfortune. Moreover, at the ſame time coming to Tower Wharf, he there met a Purſuivant of his own Name, which made him recal what had happen'd to him ſome time before in that Place; for he was accuſed by the Lord *Rivers* in *Edward* IV. Reign, of ſome Crimes which for a time caſt him out of the King's Favour, and indanger'd his Life, but was after reſtor'd again to Grace.

Now ſeeing this Man, *Ah* Haſtings, quoth the Lord, *the laſt time I met thee here it was with a heavy Heart.* *Yes, my Lord,* ſaid the Purſuivant, *but thanks be to God your Enemies gained nothing, nor had your Lordſhip any Damage thereby, and now the Danger is over.* *Thou wouldeſt ſay ſo indeed,* ſaid the Lord, *if thou knewеſt as much as I do, for the World is changed now, and my Enemies are in greater danger, as thou mayſt happen to hear in a few days*; (meaning the Lord *Rivers* and others of the Queen's Kindred, who were that very day ſecretly ordered to be beheaded at *Pomfret* Caſtle, of which he had knowledge) *and I was never merrier nor in more Safety ſince I was born.* So that there is no greater ſign of ill Fortune than to be too ſecure, and Men are often blind to their own Fate, and tho' the Ax hangs over their Heads, yet are not ſenſible of it, but are moſt in danger when they think themſelves moſt ſafe; for this Lord, notwithſtanding his great Confidence, loſt his Head two Hours after he ſpoke theſe Words.

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The ſame Morning, as he was going to the Tower, a Knight, who pretended Kindneſs to him, and was thought to be privy to the Protector's Deſigns, was ſent to meet and haſten him thither, and offered to accompany him. The Lord *Haſtings* ſtaid by the way in *Tower-ſtreet*, to diſcourſe with a Prieſt; the Knight interrupted their talk, ſaying, *Pray, my Lord, make haſte, you have no occaſion for a Prieſt yet*; ſeeming to be in jeſt, but it was thought meant in earneſt that he would in a ſhort time.

The News of the Death of the Lord *Haſtings* ſoon flew into the City, and much ſurprized the People; but the Protector, to prevent any Commotion, ſent for ſeveral of the principal Citizens, (himſelf, with the Duke of *Buckingham* receiving them in old ruſty Armour) and declared to them, That the Lord *Haſtings*, and other Conſpirators, had contrived to have ſlain him and the Duke of *Buckingham* in Council, and then to have taken upon them to govern the King and Kingdom at their pleaſure, which Treaſon they had diſcovered but few Hours before it ſhould have been acted; ſo that their ſudden fear had cauſed them to put on ſuch Armour as they firſt met with, but that God had ſo far prevented their traiterous purpoſes, as ſome had already received their Deſerts. The Citizens ſeemed to believe what he ſaid, tho' they all knew nothing was more falſe. Preſently after a Proclamation was publiſh'd, reciting the aforenamed particulars, and adding ſeveral Factions upon the Lord *Haſtings*, as that he was an evil Councillor to King *Edward* IV. adviſing him to do many Things to his great Diſhonour, and the Damage of the Kingdom, and living a lewd Life with *Shore*'s Wife, who was one of the principal Conſpirators, with whom he had convers'd the very laſt Night, and that it was no wonder if ſuch a wicked Courſe had brought him to an untimely Death, being condemned by the King and his Honourable Privy Council, before whom he was

clearly Convicted to have contrived this horrid Treaſon, and whoſe ſudden Execution, according to his Demerits, they hoped would prevent the other Conſpirators from proceeding in their traiterous Purpoſes, and ſecure the Peace of the Nation.

This was publiſhed within two hours after the Lord *Haſtings* was beheaded, and was ſo exactly penn'd and fairly written on Parchment, and withal ſo large, that all the World perceived it had been prepared long before; ſo that the School Maſter of St. *Paul's*, at the proclaiming it, ſaid, *Here is a gay goodly Caſt, foul caſt away for haſte.* To whom a Merchant anſwered, *That it was written by Propheſy or Revelation.*

After this, the Protector, like an innocent continent Prince, ſent the Sheriffs of *London* to *Jane Shore*'s Houſe (who lived from her Husband) with an Order to ſeize all her Goods, which they did to the Value of 2 or 3000 Marks, and committed her to Priſon: He charg'd her with bewitching him, and with conſpiring with the Lord *Haſtings* to deſtroy him; but having no proof, he gravely accuſed her of what all the Kingdom knew before, and ſhe her ſelf could not deny, that ſhe was unchaſte of her Body, which made Men ſmile that it ſhould be now told as new; he then cauſed the Biſhop of *London* to put her to open Penance for Incontinency, and the next *Sunday* ſhe was brought out of *Ludgate*, going after a Croſs in Proceſſion, with a Wax Taper in her Hand, and tho' then in mean Apparel, yet ſhe appeared ſo fair and lovely, the crowd of Spectators raiſing a comely Bluſh in her Cheeks, and withal ſo modeſt and ſober, that thoſe that hated her vicious Life, and were glad to ſee Sin puniſh'd, yet pitied her hard Uſage from him, who inflicted it for wicked and politick Ends, and not in love to Virtue or Chaſtity.

This Woman was a notable Inſtance of the Mutability of Fortune. She was born in *London*, of a good Family, and very well married to one *Shore*, a worthy Citizen

Citizen and Goldſmith, but it was thought a little too young; ſo that ſhe never ſhewed much Affection to her Husband, whom ſhe was ſcarce capable of loving, which might incline her the ſooner to imbrace King *Edward*'s Kindneſs: Which being attended with Honour, Riches, fine Cloaths, Eaſe, Pleaſure, and all other humane Delights, was hardly to be reſiſted by ſuch a tender Heart as ſhe had: When the King had taken her for his Miſtreſs, her Husband wholly abandoned her. After his Death, the Lord *Haſtings*, who had an extream paſſion for her during the King's Life, but either out of reſpect or faithfulneſs, forbore Courting her, now took her home to his Houſe, and maintained her in great Splendor. She was very fair, and nothing amiſs in her whole Body, but thought not tall enough, as ſome report who knew her in her Youth (ſaith Sir *Thomas More*) but now ſhe is Old, ſaith he, ſhe is lean, withered, and her Skin ſo extremely ſhrivelled, that it is ſcarce to be imagined ſo much Beauty ever reſided in that wretched Carcaſs. Yet ſhe was not more admired for her Handſomneſs, than for her ready Wit and brisk Temper; neither too full nor too ſparing in Diſcourſe, Jeſting oft without Abuſe, but very pleaſantly, ſo that her Company was extream entertaining. King *Edward* uſed to ſay, *He had three Concubines, who were excellent for three different Qualities; one being the Merrieſt; another the moſt Subtile, and the third, the moſt Devout Harlot in the World, who when ſent for to his Bed, was uſually at Prayers upon her Knees in the Church.* The other two were Perſons of greater Quality, but *Jane Shore* was the merrieſt, and therefore the King took much delight in her Converſation; for tho' he had many Miſtreſſes, yet he may be ſaid only to love her, and to ſay the truth, ſhe never abuſed his Kindneſs to the detriment of any, but to the relief of very many, appeaſing the King's anger towards ſome, getting abatement of Fines, reſtoring others to Favour, diſpatching

their Suits and Affairs, and all for little or no Reward, valuing any thing that was fine and pretty above great Sums of Money, being contented either with the pleaſure of doing Kindneſſes, or of being petitioned to for them, to ſhew what power ſhe had with the King; or laſtly, becauſe wanton Women are not always covetous. *It may be thought*, ſays Sir Tho. More, *that this Woman is too ſlight a Subject among Matters of greater Conſequence, but to me ſhe ſeems worthy of remark, That ſhe ſhould be now a miſerable Beggar, without Friends or Money, but what ſhe gets by Charity, who was formerly in ſuch great favour with a renowned Prince, was ador'd by the Courtiers, and addreſſed to by Perſons of the higheſt Quality, for expediting their Buſineſs, as much as the greateſt Favourite of this Age; had abundance of Money, and all other Goods of Fortune, and yet ſhould become ſo wretched a Creature as to beg of thoſe living, that muſt have begged themſelves, if it had not been for her Kindneſs toward them.*

To proceed: It was contrived by the Protector, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the other bloody Councillors, that the very day the Lord *Haſtings* was beheaded in the Tower, and at the very ſame hour, he himſelf conſenting to it, the Lord *Rivers*, and the other Lords and Knights that were taken from the King at *Northampton*, ſhould be beheaded at *Pomfret*, which was done in the Preſence and by the Order of Sir *R. Ratcliff*, whoſe Service the Protector much uſed in theſe Affairs, he being malicious, cruel, and fit for any miſchievous Deſign; who bringing 'em out of Priſon to the Scaffold, and telling the People they were Traytors, not ſuffering them to declare their Innocence, leſt their Words ſhould procure Pity, or Hatred to the Protector, he cauſed them haſtily, without Trial, Witneſſes, Sentence, or any legal Proceſs, to be beheaded, only becauſe they were Loyal to the King, and too near akin to the Queen his Mother.

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Theſe Noblemen being diſpatched, the Protector now reſolved to advance himſelf to the Crown, whilſt the Peers and People being terrified at theſe Proceedings, durſt not interpoſe to hinder him: But becauſe the Matter would ſeem odious, he and his wicked Council propoſed ſeveral ways. Among the reſt, they thought it neceſſary to bring in E. *Shaw*, then Lord Mayor of *London*, who, upon promiſe of Advancement, ſhould prepare the People's Inclinations; and becauſe Clergy-men are hearken'd to in Matters of Conſcience, Dr. *Shaw* his Brother, and Dr. *Pinke* are likewiſe engaged in the Affair, both great Preachers, but of more Fame than Learning, having a notable Eſtimation among the Vulgar. Theſe two were appointed to preach, the one at *Paul's Croſs*, and the other at the *Spittle*, and to diſplay the excellent Qualities of the Protector. *Pinke* in his Sermon ſo loſt his Voice, that he was forced to break off, and come down in the midſt; and *Shaw* by his Sermon loſt his Reputation, and ſoon after his Life, being ſo aſham'd, that he never came abroad. But the next perplexity was to get ſome plauſible pretence for depoſing the young King, and advancing his Uncle: At length it was concluded to alledge Baſtardy, either in King *Edward* IV. himſelf, or in his Children, or both. To lay Baſtardy publickly to King *Edward*, would reflect upon the Reputation of the Mother both of his Brother and himſelf, which the Protector order'd to be handled tenderly; but the Baſtardy of the Children he would have boldly aſſerted, and to ground the Allegations upon the following pretext:

After King *Edward* IV. had depoſed *Henry* VI. he determined to marry, and *R. Nevil*, the great Earl of *Warwick*, is ſent to *France* to treat of a Marriage between the King and the Lady *Bona*, Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*, and Siſter to *Charlotte* then Queen of *France*: The Propoſition was readily imbraced in *France*, and the Match concluded. In the mean time,

King *Edward* being Hunting in *Wichwood Foreſt* near *Stony Stratford*, happen'd to come to the Manour of *Graſton*, where the Dut[illegible]ſs of *Bedford* then lay, and where her Daughter, by Sir *R. Woodvile*, called the Lady *Eliz. Gray* (Widow of Sir *John Gray* of *Groby*, ſlain in the Battle of St. *Albans*) came to petition the King for ſome Lands, of which her Husband had made her a Jointure; with whoſe Beauty the King was ſo ſurprized, that he fell to courting her. The Lady perceiving his Intent, told him plainly, *That as ſhe thought her ſelf not worthy to be his Wife, ſo ſhe eſteemed her ſelf too good to be his Concubine.* The King who ſeldom was denied ſuch Favours, his Handſomeneſs and Dignity making him acceptable to moſt Ladies, ſo much admired her Virtue that he reſolved to marry her. Which his Mother having notice of endeavoured to prevent, telling him, *That it would be both honourable and ſafe to marry ſome great Princeſs, and thereby ſtrengthen his Government by potent Alliances: That it was below him to marry his own Subject, and eſpecially a Widow that had Children, he being a young Man and a Batchelor.* Laſtly, *That he was already contracted to the Lady* Eliz. Lucy. The King anſwer'd, *That as to Honour and Alliances they might bring more Trouble and Profit; and whereas you object, Madam,* ſays he, *that the Lady is a Widow and has Children, By God's Bleſſed Lady, I am a Batchelor, and have ſome Children too, And ſo we have both Proof that we are not like to be Barren: And for your alledging, that I am already contracted to the Lady* Lucy; *let the Biſhop,* ſaith he, *charge me with it when I come to take Orders, for tho' it is forbidden to a Prieſt, yet I never heard it was prohibited to a Prince*; and ſoon after he married the Lady *Gray*.

Upon this pretext, the Protector would found the Baſtardy of King *Edward*'s Children. That he had been formerly contracted to the Lady *Lucy*, tho' the Lady her ſelf upon Examination, acknowledged ſhe had

had a Child by him, but denied there was any Contract between them. However Dr. *Shaw* took for his Text, *Baſtard Plants ſhall take no deep Root*; and declared, that King *Edward* was never lawfully married to the Queen, but was, before God, Husband to the Lady *Lucy*, and ſo his Children were Baſtards, adding, that thoſe in the Family had great jealouſy that neither King *Edward* IV. himſelf, nor his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, were begotten by his Father, they much reſembling other Perſons in Court that were well known, but that the Noble Prince *Richard*, Lord Protector, had the very Lineaments, Complection, and Countenance, as well as the Courage and Magnanimity of the Renowned *Richard* Duke of *York*, his Father. Now it was contrived, that at the uttering theſe Words, the Protector ſhould appear to the People, that the Preacher's words, and his preſence thus correſponding, it might be thought he had ſpoke to them by the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt. But this Trick failed, for either by the Protector's delay in coming, or the Doctor's haſte in preaching, he had proceeded upon other matters: At length obſerving the Protector was coming, he, without Order or Reaſon, diverted from what he was upon, and began to repeat the ſame Words again; *This is that noble Prince, the Father's own Picture, his own Face, and the expreſs Image of his Father's Perſon.* In the mean time, the Protector with the Duke of *Buckingham* preſſed thro' the Crowd to the Pulpit, and there ſat to hear the Sermon. But the People were ſo far from crying out, *God ſave King* Richard, as was expected, that they cried ſhame on the Preacher, for abuſing his Calling to ſuch vile purpoſes.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, with divers Lords and Knights, came afterward to *Guildhall*, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons being their aſſembled, the Duke made a long Speech to this effect. *That the Lord Protector, and the reſt of the noble Peers,*

were come to acquaint the worthy Citizens with a Matter of great Conſequence, and which they did not doubt would be very acceptable to them. A Matter they had long in vain deſired, and which was abſolutely neceſſary to their Welfare and Happineſs, even the future Security of their Lives, Wives, Children, and Eſtates, which had been all indangered by the ill government of the late King Edward IV. *who by Tricks and Shams indangered their Lives, and by unreaſonable Taxes and Pollings to maintain his Prodigality, waſted their Eſtates, and what People he reſpected moſt appeared by his Favours to* Shore's *Wife, who in his Reign was more ſought unto, and managed greater Affairs by her Influence over his vain Mind, than the greateſt Peer in* England, *whereby he raiſed the Hatred and Ill-will of the People both againſt himſelf and his Children.* He then reminded them of the Doctor's Sermon the laſt Sunday, who being a Preacher of God's Word, had, by his God's Authority, declared the juſt Right and Title of the Protector to the Crown of this Realm, which he doubted not but they would regard (conſidering the Honeſty and Wiſdom of the Preacher) beyond any thing he could ſay to them, he having ſo clearly prov'd that King *Edward* was before married to the Lady *Lucy*, and that therefore his Children by the Lady *Gray* cannot be Legitimate, ſo that for want of lawful Iſſue, Lord *Richard* had an undoubted Right and Title to the Crown, by whoſe renowned Virtues and Valour he did not much doubt but the Kingdom would enjoy all Happineſs, and be freed from that Woe which the wiſe Man pronounces that Nation to be ſubject to, *whoſe King is a Child.* All which the Lords of the Council having taken into conſideration, had thereupon agreed to accept of him for their King. *And now,* ſaid the Duke, *I am come to acquaint you with it, and to require your Conſents, which I do not doubt but for your own benefit you will readily give, in electing ſo worthy a Prince, and thereby oblige his Majeſty, who will be*

kind

kind to those who are most zealous for his Advancement to the Throne.

Having ended his Oration, the People stood mute, as admiring at the Motion, but none cried K. *Richard*, K. *Richard*, as was expected. At which the Duke being amazed, supposing the Lord Mayor had before informed and prepared the Common Hall, he whispered to him to know the Meaning of this sullen silence? who answered, That it may be they did not hear what he had said. So the Duke repeated the same words more audibly and earnestly, but this obstinate silence still continued. He then desired that the Recorder, who usually spoke to the People, might move them in it. But he being an honest Man, and newly come to his Office, repeated the Duke's words only, without adding any of his own, which nothing prevailed upon their resolved sullenness. At last the Duke told them plainly, *That all the Nobility and Commons of the Realm were determined to chuse the Protector for their King, as the true and undoubted Heir, and that it was only out of respect and kindness to the Citizens that they had acquainted them with it, desiring them freely to speak, whether they would join with them in this Election or no.* Upon this some of the Duke's Servants, and others planted on purpose at the lower end of the Hall threw up their Caps and shouted aloud King *Richard*, King *Richard*, while the Citizens stood murmuring and inquiring among themselves what the Meaning of it was.

However, the Duke took the Advantage of it, as of an unanimous Consent; *A goodly Cry*, quoth he: giving them all Thanks for their universal Approbation, promising he would acquaint the Protector with their great Kindness toward him; requiring the Lord Mayor and Citizens to meet him the next Morning at *Baynard*'s Castle. Being met accordingly, the Duke of *Buckingham* sends up word to the Protector, that the Lord Mayor and his Brethren were come to present a

Supplication to him, in a Matter of great Conſequence. The Protector, tho' pre-acquainted with the Matter, yet pretended to admire what the Buſineſs ſhould be, and tho' he did ſuſpect no ill from any thing which the Duke ſhould offer, yet deſired ſome hint of what it might be. It was anſwered, That the Buſineſs was to be communicated only to himſelf in perſon, and they humbly deſir'd to be admitted into his preſence: Hereupon, as if not well aſſured of their Intent, he appears in the Gallery to prevent any ſiniſter practice againſt him. The Duke with great Reverence tells him, That he hoped his Highneſs would pardon him in what he was going to declare in the behalf of the Nobility and Mayor here preſent; and after many Circumſtances, proceeds to diſcover the Cauſe of their coming, That in regard to the urgent Neceſſities of the Commonwealth, they humbly intreated him to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom in his own Right, to whom they all tendered their Allegiance: At which word the Protector ſtarted back as if extreamly ſurprized, and paſſionately replied; *I little thought, good Couſin, that you of all Men would have moved me in a Matter which of all Things in the World I muſt decline! Far be it from me to accept of that, which without apparent wrong to the Children of my dear deceaſed Brother, and my own upright Conſcience, I cannot well approve of:* And pretending to proceed in this diſſembling Harangue, the Duke ſeemed abruptly upon his Knees to ſtop him: *Since your Grace*, ſays he, *has been pleaſed to give liberty to offer in the Name of this great Aſſembly the free tender of their Obedience to you, I muſt farther add, That it is unanimouſly concluded, that your late Brother King* Edward's *Children, as being generally known to be Illegitimate, ſhall never be admitted to the Crown of* England; *and if your Grace ſhall neither regard your ſelf nor us ſo far as to accept of it, we are fully determined to confer it upon ſome other of the Houſe of* Lancaſter, *that will be more ſenſible of his own and our good.*

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These Words seemed to have such a powerful Effect upon the Protector's Mind, that with a feigned perturbation he replied: *Since I perceive the whole Kingdom are resolved by no means to admit my dear Nephews, being but Children, to Reign over them, and since the Right of Succession justly belongs to me as the undoubted Heir of* Richard Plantaginet, *Duke of* York, *my renowned Father; We are contented to condescended to your Importunities, and to accept the Regal Government of the Kingdom; and will, to the utmost of my power, endeavour to maintain the Quiet and Welfare thereof.* After this he came down from the Gallery, and formally saluted them all; which so pleased the giddy Mobile, that they shouted out, *Long live King* Richard *our dread Sovereign Lord*; and so every Man departed. Having thus usurped the Sovereignty, he was soon after crowned; creating his Son *Edward*, a Child of ten years old, Prince of *Wales*; advancing several of the Nobility to higher Honours, and dignifying others. And to shew his Clemency, several whom he suspected would have hindred his Proceedings, and had been imprisoned, were now released; but *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, who would never consent to the disinheriting King *Edward*'s Children, was committed to the Custody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who secured him in his Castle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*.

And now King *Richard* with his Queen (the Lady *Ann*, youngest Daughter of the great Earl of *Warwick*, and Widow of Prince *Edward*, Son to King *Henry* VI.) whom he had newly married, made a Progress to *Gloucester*, upon pretence of visiting the place of his former Honour; but in truth, to be absent while he had a special Villainy to be acted; for tho' he had satisfied his Ambition by depriving his Nephews of their Rights, yet he could not remove his Fears without taking away their Lives. To perpetrate this Villainy he durst not use the Assistance of his old Friend and Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham*, as being sensible

of

of his abhorrence thereof: However, it was too eaſy to find wicked Inſtruments for Money; and, upon inquiry, he heard of one in his Court, call'd Sir *James Tyrril*, of an ambitious Humour, and ready to commit any Wickedneſs for Preferment. Being told of this Man as he was at the Cloſe-ſtool, he went to him, whom he found more free to undertake the Work than he was to imploy him; ſo the Bargain was ſoon made, and nothing remained but an opportunity to effect it. King *Richard* had before ſent *John Green* one of his Privadoes, to Sir *R. Brackenbury*, Lieutenant of the Tower, to requite him to do the Deed, he being raiſed by him, but the Lieutenant declaring an abſolute Averſion thereto, *Good Lord*, ſays the King, *whom can a Man truſt:* So that finding he muſt be removed, or it was impoſſible to effect it, he ſends him an Order by Sir *J. Tyrril*, to deliver up the Keys of the Tower to him. *Tyril* being now Lieutenant for the time, hires two Raſcals like himſelf, *Giles Foreſt*, and *James Leighton* his Hoſtler, a luſty Fellow, to join with him in the Murder of theſe innocent Children, who coming into their Chamber in the Night, with one *Black Will*, another bloody Villain, they wrapt them up in the Bed-cloaths, and keeping them down with all their Strength upon their Mouths, they ſoon ſtifled them, and ſo they ſurrender'd up their innocent Souls to Heaven. The Murtherers perceiving, firſt by their ſtrugling and then their long lying ſtill, that they were Dead, laid their Bodies out upon the Bed, and called Sir *James* to ſee them, who cauſed them to be buried upon the Stairs under a Heap of Stones, from whence they were afterward removed to a place of Chriſtian Burial, by a Prieſt of Sir *R. Brackenbury*, who dying ſoon after, it was never known where they were laid; which gave occaſion to the Impoſture in King *Henry* VII. Reign of *Perkin Warbeck*, who pretended to be *Richard* Duke of *York*, the younger Brother, that by the Compaſſion of the Murtherers

was

was ſaved, and ſent to ſeek his Fortune. Others write, that King *Richard* cauſed their Bodies to be taken up, and being cloſed in Lead, to be put into a Coffin full of Holes, and thrown into a place called the *Black Deeps*, at the *Thames* Mouth, to ſecure them from being ever ſeen again. But divine Vengeance ſoon reached the Murtherers, *Forreſt* rotting away alive piece-meal in St. *Martins le Grand*; *Leighton* died at *Calais*, deteſted of all Men, and in great Miſery; *Tyrril* was afterward beheaded for Treaſon at *Towerhill*, and King *Richard* himſelf, after this execrable Fact, never was quiet in mind, being tormented with fearful Dreams, ſtarting out of his Bed, and running about the Chamber with great horror, as if the Fiends in Hell had been torturing his vexed Soul.

And here we may obſerve, That Confederacies in Evil ſeldom continue long, but uſually end in reciprocal Ruin: And thus it happen'd with K. *Richard*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* his intimate Favourite, who had been Confederates in the Death of many, which now diſſolves in the deſtruction of them both. What the Cauſe of the firſt Breach was, whether the Duke did not think he was ſufficiently rewarded for his Services; or that King *Richard* did not judge himſelf ſafe, whilſt he that ſet him on the Throne remained ſo Great; or that the Duke being ambitious and aſpiring, grew envious at his own act in advancing him, is uncertain, but the laſt ſeems moſt probable, ſince he pretended Sickneſs to avoid being preſent at the Coronation: Which King *Richard* was jealous of, and ſent him word, *That if he did not come, he would fetch him.* So the Duke came, but with ſo ill a Will, that ever after there was no good Underſtanding between them, he retiring to his Caſtle at *Brecknock*.

And here the inſcrutable depth of divine Providence is very remarkable, which the greateſt Politicians cannot Fathom; for the King had committed the

Biſhop

Biſhop of *Ely* to the Duke's Cuſtody, to ſecure him from doing hurt, and deſigned it for the Biſhop's Puniſhment; whereas this very thing was the Means of King *Richard*'s deſtruction. For the Duke coming home, ſeemed much diſturbed, and would ſometimes talk with the Biſhop, who being a Man of Wit and Judgment, he became extreamly pleaſed with his Company, and opened himſelf more freely, whereby the Biſhop perceived the chief Cauſe of his Trouble was his Envy to King *Richard*; and ſo took an Opportunity to diſcourſe him to this purpoſe: *My Lord, You know that formerly I took part with King* Henry IV. *and could have wiſhed his Son had enjoyed the Crown, but after God had ordained King* Edward IV. *to reign, I was never ſo mad to contend for a dead Prince againſt a living one; and ſo I was a faithful Chaplain to him, and would have been glad his Child had ſucceeded him, but ſince by the ſecret Judgment of God it hath happen'd otherwiſe, I will not ſtrive to ſet up what God hath plucked down; and as for the Lord Protector, and now King,*——— Here the Biſhop made a pauſe, ſaying, *He had always meddled too much in the World, and would now only be concerned with his Books and his Beads.* Becauſe he ended with the King, the Duke was impatient to have him proceed, faithfully promiſing no hurt ſhould come from it, but it may be much good; aſſuring him the Reaſon why he deſired the King to put him under his Cuſtody, was, that he might ſecretly ask his Advice. My Lord, ſaid the Biſhop, I humbly thank your Grace, but I confeſs I do not much care to talk of Princes, ſince it often proves dangerous, tho' nothing ill be meant; but a Man's words may be interpreted, not as he intended them, but as the Prince pleaſes to conſtrue them, which puts me in mind of one of *Æſop's Fables*: The Lion publiſhed a Proclamation, That upon pain of death, no horned Beaſt ſhould continue in an adjoining Wood: Now a certain Beaſt that had a Bunch in his Forehead, flying away in great haſte

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was met by a Fox, who ask'd him, Whither he run ſo faſt? Faſt, quoth he, I think it is time to run if I intend to ſave my Life. Why, Brother Reynard, han't you heard of the Proclamation againſt horned Beaſts? What then you Fool, quoth the Fox, That does not concern you, for I am ſure you have no Horns on your Head. Ah marry, quoth the Beaſt, that I know well enough, but what if the Lion ſhould call my Bunch a Horn, where were I then, Brother Reynard? The Duke laugh'd at the Story, and ſaid, My Lord, I warrant you neither the Lion nor the Boar ſhall pick any Matter out of any thing that has been ſpoken, for it ſhall never come near their Ears. In good faith, Sir, ſays the Biſhop, what we have ſaid, if taken as we meant it, could only deſerve thanks; but being wreſted, as ſome would do, might be of ill Conſequence to us both. The Duke intreated him to go on in his former diſcourſe. My Lord, ſaid the Biſhop, as for the late Protector, ſince he is now King in poſſeſſion, I ſhall not diſpute his Title, but for the good of the Kingdom, I could wiſh he had in him thoſe excellent Virtues wherewith God Almighty has qualified your Grace; here he ſtopt again. My Lord, ſaid the Duke, I much wonder at theſe ſudden pauſes which ſo interrupt your diſcourſe, that I can neither comprehend your Thoughts of the King, nor your Affection to my ſelf, I therefore beg of you freely to diſcover your ſentiments, and upon my Honour, I will be as ſecret as the deaf and dumb Perſon is to the Singer, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Biſhop, upon this aſſurance of the Duke's, proceeded.

My Lord, I plainly perceive this Realm is in great danger of being brought to Confuſion and Deſolation under the preſent Government; but I have ſtill ſome hope remaining by the daily Obſervation of your noble Perſonage, your Juſtice, your ardent Love to your Country, and likewiſe the great Love the People have toward you, and ſhould think the Kingdom fortunate

which

which had a Prince ſo fit to be their Governor as your ſelf, whoſe Perſon and Actions contain in them all that is truly great, juſt, and honourable. He then reproached the King for his many Murders, Cruelties, and Oppreſſions, adding, And now, my Lord, if you love God, your Poſterity, or your native Country, you muſt your ſelf take upon you the Imperial Crown of this Realm: But if you refuſe the ſame, I then adjure you by the Faith you owe to God, and the regard you ought to have for your native Land, in your princely Wiſdom, to contrive ſome Means whereby the Kingdom may be ſettled in Peace, Liberty, and Safety under a legal Government; and if you think fit to advance again the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, or to marry the eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* IV. to ſome powerful Prince, the now crowned King may be quickly remov'd from his uſurp'd Throne, and thereby Peace and Tranquility will again be reſtored to the Nation.

Having ended his Speech, the Duke remained ſilent for ſome time, only breathing forth many deep ſighs, which much ſtartled the Biſhop, and made his colour change. The Duke perceiving it, Be not afraid, my Lord, ſaid he, all Promiſes ſhall be kept; and ſo for that time they parted. Next day the Duke ſent for the Biſhop, and having repeated their former Diſcourſe, he proceeded, My Lord of *Ely*, becauſe I diſcern you have a real kindneſs for me, I will freely unboſom my Thoughts to you: After I obſerved the the Falſhood of King *Richard*, and eſpecially when I heard of the barbarous Murther of the two young Princes, to which God is my witneſs I never condeſcended, I ſo much abhorr'd his preſence, that I left the Court upon a pretended Excuſe, he not in the leaſt perceiving my diſcontent, and ſo returned to *Brecknock* to you. In my return, whether by Inſpiration or Melancholy, I was poſſeſt with many Contrivances how to deprive this unnatural Butcher of his Royal Dignity.

Dignity. First, I fancied that if I had a mind to take the Crown now was the time, the Tyrant being ſo generally abhorred, and believing that I had the neareſt Right to the Succeſſion. In this Imagination I continued two days at *Tewksbury*, ruminating whether I had beſt take upon me the Crown as a Conqueror; but then I thought the Nobility and Commons would uſe their utmoſt Efforts againſt me. At length I happen'd on ſomething that I did not doubt would have brought forth fair Flowers, yet proved nothing but Weeds: For I was thinking that *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet* my Grandfather, was with *Henry* VI. within two or three Degrees of *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*; and my Mother being eldeſt Daughter to Duke *Edmund*, I ſuppoſed my ſelf to be the next Heir to King *Henry* VI. of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. This Title pleaſed thoſe whom I made of my Counſel, but much more my aſpiring Mind; while I was perplex'd whether it were beſt inſtantly to publiſh this my Right, or wait ſome better Opportunity, obſerve what happen'd: As I rid from *Worceſter* to *Bridgenorth*, I met the Lady *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Richmond*, now Wife to the Lord *Stanley*, and Daughter and ſole Heir to *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, my Grandfather's elder Brother, whom I had as utterly forgot as if I had never known her, ſo that ſhe and her Son *Henry* have a Right before me. By this I perceived my Miſtake, and reſolved to relinquiſh all ambitious Thoughts, and to endeavour the Eſtabliſhment of the Earl of *Richmond*, Right Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; and that he ſhould marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to King *Edward* IV. ſo that the two Roſes might be hereby united. And now ſaid the Duke, I have told you my whole Heart.

The Biſhop was glad that they had both hit upon the ſame Deſign, and extolling his well laid Contrivance, replied, Since by your Grace's incomparable Prudence this noble Conjunction is intended, it will be neceſſary to conſider who are the fitteſt to be acquainted

quainted with it. By my troth, quoth the Duke, we will begin with the Counteſs of *Richmond*, the Earl's Mother, who will inform us whether he be under Confinement or at Liberty in *Britain*. And thus was the Foundation of a League laid by theſe two great Men, which revenged the Death of the two innocent Princes: And it was proſecuted with all Expedition; one *Reynold Bray* being imployed by the Biſhop, to his Lady the Counteſs of *Richmond*; Dr. *Lewis*, the Dutcheſs's Phyſician, was ſent to Queen *Elizabeth*, and two other Perſons were ordered privately to wait upon the Earl of *Richmond* then in *France*, and acquaint him with the Deſign, and procure his Conſent to the intended Marriage, who coming to the Earl, and giving him Information of the Plot, he diſcovers it to the Duke of *Britain*, who tho' by *Hutton*, King *Richard*'s Ambaſſador, he had by many great offers been ſollicited to detain the Earl in Priſon, yet he readily promiſed him his utmoſt Aſſiſtance: Several Knights and Gentlemen were alſo brought into the Confederacy in *England*. Biſhop *Morton* retires in diſguiſe into the Iſle of *Ely*, where having prepared his Friends to eſpouſe the Earl's Intereſt, he went to *Britain* to him, and continued there till the Earl, when King, ſent for him home, and made him Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

But though all was managed with the utmoſt privacy, and under Oaths of ſecreſy, yet King *Richard* had diſcover'd it; but pretending Ignorance, he ſends for the Duke of *Buckingham* to come to him, who endeavouring to excuſe it, he at laſt peremptorily commands him to appear upon his Allegiance; upon which the Duke returned this reſolute Anſwer, *That he owed no Allegiance to ſuch a perjured inhuman Butcher of his own Fleſh and Blood*; and ſo from that time Preparations of War are made on each ſide. The Duke had aſſembled a good Number of *Welſhmen*, and the Marquis of *Dorſet*, having got out of Sanctuary, was raiſing Forces in *Yorkſhire*; the two *Countneys* were doing

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the ſame in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, and the Lords *Guilford* and *Tame* in *Kent*. King *Richard* ſets forward with his Forces, the Duke of *Buckingham* marches to encounter him, intended at *Gloceſter* to have paſt the Severn, and joined the two *Countneys*; but the great Rains had ſo ſwelled the River, that overflowing its Banks there was no fording it. This Inundation was ſo great, that Men were drowned in their Beds, Houſes overturned, Children carried about the Fields ſwimming in Cradles, and many Beaſts were drown'd, which continued ten Days, and was called, *The Great Water*, or, *The Duke of* Buckingham's *Water*. The *Welſhmen* were ſo affrighted with this Accident, that judging it an ill Omen, they all ſecretly deſerted him; ſo that the Duke being alone, without either Page or Footman, retired to the Houſe of one *Humphry Baniſter* near *Shrewsbury*, who being advanced by him and his Father, he thought himſelf ſafe under his Roof. But *Baniſter*, upon King *Richard*'s Proclamation of a Reward of 1000 *l.* to him that ſhould take the Duke, treacherouſly diſcover'd him to the High Sheriff of *Shropſhire*, who took him in a thread-bare black Cloak in an Orchard behind the Houſe, and carried him to *Shrewsbury*, where King *Richard* quartered, and there, without Arraignment or legal Proceeding, he was, in the Market-place, beheaded. Whether *Baniſter* received the Reward from King *Richard* is uncertain; but it is certain, he received the Reward of a Villain from divine Juſtice; for he was hanged for Manſlaughter, his eldeſt Daughter was raviſhed by one of his Plowmen, or, as ſome ſay, ſtruck with a loathſom Leproſy; his eldeſt Son in a deſperate Lunacy murder'd himſelf, and his younger Son was drowned in a ſmall puddle of Water.

This was the fatal End of the great Duke of *Buckingham*, who went too far for a good Man, in being Acceſſary to the depriving the innocent Princes of their Birthright, and declaring them Baſtards. But it ſeems

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he went not far enough for ſo bad a Man as King *Richard*, becauſe he would not conſent to the Murther of them. However he fell by the ſame Hand that advanced him to be his chief Favourite and Privado. And though King *Richard* now triumph'd over his Enemies, yet in a ſhort time he loſt both his Crown and Life in one day; the Foundation of his Ruin having been firſt laid by this unproſperous Conſpiracy, being ſlain in a Battle at *Boſworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*, by *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, who ſucceeded him by the Name of King *Henry* VII.



King

King Henry VIII.



Remarks on the Life, Actions, and Fall of Thomas Woolsey, *Cardinal of* York, *Favourite to King* Henry VIII.

THE Magnanimity of Spirit which appeared in the Life and Actions of this great Cardinal, doth clearly evince, that Persons of mean Birth may be Possessors of as much Grandure of Soul, as those of noble Descent; which occasioned some to alledge that he must needs be the By-blow of some Prince, and not the Issue of such mean Parents as his were generally reckon'd. For all Historians relate, that he

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was the Son of an honeſt poor Butcher at *Ipſwich* in *Suffolk*, who in his Childhood being apt to learn, his Father, with the Aſſiſtance of Friends, ſent him to a Grammar-School, from whence he in a ſhort time went to *Oxford*, where he was ſo great a Proficient, that at 15 Years old he was made Batchellor of Arts, and called the Boy Batchelor. He was after made Fellow of *Magdalen* College, and Maſter of *Magdalen* School, and had the Education of the Marquis of *Dorſet*'s Sons, by whoſe Care they ſo well profited in Learning, that the Marquis beſtow'd a Benefice in his Gift upon this ingenious School-Maſter, who then left his Fellowſhip, and came to his Living, where he had not been long when Sir *J. Pawlet* upon ſome diſpleaſure ſet him in the Stocks; which Affront was not forgotten nor forgiven by *Woolſey*; who when by the mighty favour of Fortune he came to be Lord Chancellor of *England*, ſent for Sir *James*, and after having ſharply reproved him, enjoined him not to ſtir out of the *Middle Temple* without ſpecial Licence from himſelf, which he could not obtain in 6 Years.

After the Death of the Marquis of *Dorſet*, from whom he expected higher Preferment, his towring Thoughts aimed at ſome greater Imployment; and ſince he muſt make his own Fortune, reſolved to take all Opportunities to advance himſelf. He now became acquainted with Sir *John Naphant*, an ancient noble Knight, (formerly Treaſurer of *Calais* under King *Henry* VII.) to whom he was Chaplain, and by his Wiſdom gained ſuch Favour with his Maſter, that he committed all the Charge of his Office to his Chaplain. At length being diſcharged of his Imployment for his great Age, he returned into *England*, but retained ſo much Kindneſs for *Woolſey*, that by his Intereſt at Court he procured him to be one of the Chaplains to King *Henry* VIII.

Having thus caſt Anchor in the Port of Preferment he roſe amain, being hereby in the King's Eye by reaſon

reaſon of his daily Attendance, and ſaying Maſs before him in his Cloſet. Neither did he ſquander away his leiſure time, but would attend thoſe great Men who were moſt in Favour with the King, and among others Dr. *Fox*, and the Lord *Lovell*, Maſter of the Wards and Conſtable of the Tower, who perceiving him to be a Man of an acute Wit, thought him fit to be imployed in Matters of State. And King *Henry* having occaſion to ſend an Ambaſſador to the Emperor of *Germany*, theſe two grave Counſellors recommended *Woolſey* as proper for ſo honourable an Office. The King inſtantly ſent for him, and diſcourſing with him about Matters of State, found him endued with ſo much Eloquence, Learning, Judgment, and Modeſty, that he cauſed his Commiſſion and Inſtructions to be drawn up; which having received, he took his leave of the King at *Richmond* at 4 of the Clock in the Afternoon, and in 3 Hours arrived at *Graveſend*, from thence he rid Poſt to *Dover*, and going aboard the Paſſage-boat, arrived next Day at Noon at *Calais*, and the ſame Night came to the Emperor's Court at *Bruſſels*, who having notice of the Arrival of the King of *England*'s Ambaſſador, out of great Affection to his Maſter, gave him Audience the ſame Evening. Having deliver'd his Meſſage and Credentials, and humbly deſiring his ſpeedy diſmiſſion, the Emperor granted all his Maſter's Requeſts, and diſpatched him the next day. He then rides back that Night Poſt to *Calais*, being attended by ſeveral Noblemen by the Emperor's Order, and came thither in the Morning before the Gates were open, and the Packet Boat being ready to go off, he arrived at *Dover* by 11 at Noon, and the ſame Night came poſt to *Richmond*, and next Morning preſented himſelf to the King at his coming out of his Bed Chamber to Maſs, who check'd him for not being upon his Journey. *May it pleaſe your Highneſs*, ſaid he, *I have been with the Emperor already, and I hope have diſpatched my Embaſſy to your Grace's Satisfaction.* The

King admired at his Expedition, asking, *Whether he met with the Messenger sent after him, before he thought him gone from* London, *with further Instructions of weighty Consequence. Yes,* said Woolsey, *I met with him yesterday by the way, and tho' I did know his Message, yet presuming upon your Highness's goodness, and judging those Matters necessary to be done, I made bold to exceed my Commission, and dispatch them, for which I humbly beg your Majesty's Pardon.* The King much pleased, replied, *We not only Pardon you, but give you our Royal Thanks, both for your discreet Management and great Expedition.*

Soon after the Duke bestow'd on him the Deanary of *Lincoln*, being one of the greatest Promotions under the Degree of a Bishop, and made him his Lord Almoner, wherein he behav'd himself with so much Discretion, that he was advanced to be one of the Lords of the Privy Council, had *Bridewell*, one of his Royal Houses, for himself and Family to reside in, and was observed by the People to be a rising Favourite: For the King was young, and much given to Pleasure, and his antient Councillors advising him to be sometimes present in Council, to consult about the weighty Affairs of the Government, his Lord Almoner, on the contrary, dissuaded him from imbarassing himself in the Fatigues of State, assuring him, that if he would allow him sufficient Authority, he would manage all Affairs to his Content. This Advice was received by the youthful Prince, who gave him what Power he demanded; so that governing all things according to his own Mind, he seem'd to rule more than the King himself.

In the first Year of King *Henry*'s Reign, a difference happen'd between him and the *French* King *Lewis* XII. who upon some private Quarrel with Pope *Julius* II. march'd with a great Army into *Italy*, and possess'd himself of the rich City of *Bologna*. King *Henry* having a great Respect for the Pope, because he had dispens'd

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with his late Marriage with Q. *Katherine*, his Brother *Arthur*'s Widow, and finding he was unable to defend himself, offer'd to be a Mediator of Peace between them; but the *French* King, flush'd with Success, refus'd or neglected his Proposal, which so inflamed the vigorous Mind of the young King, that he declar'd to the World, that as he scorned to be neglected, so he abhorr'd to be idle in this Affair, and resolv'd, by invading the Dominions of *France*, to withdraw that King out of the Pope's Territories. In pursuance whereof, he sends Ambassadors to King *Lewis*, requiring him to deliver up the peaceable Possession of his two Dutchies of *Guien* and *Normandy*, with his antient Inheritance of *Anjou* and *Maine*, which had for many Years been wrongfully detained from his Predecessors and himself.

The little Acquaintance that the *French* King had with King *Henry*, and the Contempt of his Youth, caused him to return a slight Denial to his Demand, whereupon King *Henry* proclaim'd War against him, and resolv'd to invade his Country in Person, with a gallant Army, and believing no Man more proper to make Provision for this great Expedition than *Woolsey*, committed the sole Management thereof to his Wisdom and Policy, who scrupling no Command of the King's, undertook this difficult Charge, and proceeded therein so dexterously, that all things were in a short time provided for the Voyage. The King then march'd with his Army to *Dover*, and transporting them to *Calais*, proceeded in order of Battle to the strong Town of *Tyrwin*, which he vigorously assaulted and took. In which Siege the Emperor *Maximilian*, with thirty Noblemen, repaired to his Camp, and were all inrolled in the King's Pay. He march'd from thence to *Tournay*, which was soon surrender'd to him; which Bishoprick the King bestowed upon his Almoner *Woolsey*, and returning into *England*, was welcom'd with the News of a great Victory, obtain'd by the Earl of *Surry* against

James King of *Scotland*, he himſelf, with divers of his Nobility, and 18000 *Scots* and *French*, who came to his Aſſiſtance, being ſlain.

The Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* and the Archbiſhoprick of *York* being vacant, the King beſtow'd them upon *Woolſey*; and ſoon after he obtain'd of the Pope to be made Cardinal of *York*, and his Maſter *Henry*, for his great Zeal to the Holy Chair, had the Title of *Defender of the Faith* confer'd upon him. Being ſuddenly mounted to ſuch a mighty Height, and the King's Affection daily increaſing, it made him ſo extream proud and inſolent, that he thought none to be his Equal. He erected Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and had the Boldneſs to ſummon the A. B. of *Canterbury*, and all the other Biſhops and Clergymen to appear before him. And, as his Authority was ſuperior to all, ſo he exceeded them all in Covetouſneſs and Ambition; and for many Years the Kingdom groan'd under his Oppreſſions and Depredations. Yet his Ambition was ſo exceſſive, that he ſtill hunted after greater Dominion, intermedling with Affairs wherein he was not concerned, eſpecially in the Chancellorſhip, which then pertained to the A. B. of *Canterbury*, who being old, and perceiving how great a Favourite *Woolſey* was, choſe rather to give up the Seals, than have them taken from him, and the King delivered them to *Woolſey*; which Favours and Dignities might have ſatisfy'd any but the inſatiable Mind of this mighty Prelate, who was now Cardinal, Archbiſhop, Lord Chancellor, and Counſellor of State.

But he ſtill aimed to be higher; and to gratify his Humour this Occaſion offer'd: In 1527, Pope *Leo* ſent Cardinal *Campeius*, as his Legate, to King *Henry*, to ſolicit him (as he had done the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and the Princes of *Germany*) to join in a League againſt the *Turks*, who made horrible Ravages into Chriſtendom. The ſubtle Cardinal being ſenſible that when *Campeius* arrived, he muſt have the Precedenc

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of him upon all Occasions, on the account of his Legateship, he privately sent two Bishops to *Calais*, as if to attend on him, who cunningly insinuated into *Campeius*, that his Journey would be ineffectual, unless *Woolsey* were joined in equal Authority with him. Whereupon *Campeius* dispatch'd an Account thereof to *Rome*, and in 40 Days receiv'd a new Commission, whereby *Woolsey* was made the Pope's Legate, and joint Commissioner with him. But *Woolsey* having notice of the ragged Condition of his Brother's Retinue, sent a great Quantity of red Cloth to *Calais*, to cloth his Servants answerable to the Dignity of so great a Personage. *Campeius* landed at *Dover*, and in his Passage to *London*, by *Woolsey*'s Order, was received with a Procession by the Clergy and Magistrates through every Town, and attended by all the Lords and Gentlemen of *Kent*. Being arrived at *Black-heath*, he was met by the Duke of *Norfolk*, a great number of Prelates and Clergy, and many Persons of Quality. The Cardinal was brought into a Tent cover'd with Cloth of Gold, where he put on his Cardinal's Robes, which were furr'd with rich Ermin, and then mounting his Mule, rid toward *London*, having eight Mules more laden with his Equipage attending him; but these not being sufficiently magnificent in proud *Woolsey*'s Eyes, he sent him twelve more to make the Pageantry more gay through *London*. The next Day these twenty Mules were led through the City, as if laden with Treasures and other Necessaries, to the great Admiration of the People, that the Legate should be possess'd of such vast Riches; but their Wonder quickly ceased, by an unlucky Accident, which turned all this vain Pomp into Ridicule: For in going through *Cheapside*, one of the skittish Jades, affrighted with the multitude of Spectators, broke his Collar, and running upon the other Mules, put them all into such Disorder, that they threw their Sumpters to the Ground, which flying open, discover'd the Cardinal's gallant Wealth, some

of them being filled with old Clothes, Rags, old Boots and Shoes, Horſe-ſhoes, and old Iron; others with Marrowbones, Scraps of Meat, roaſted Eggs, mouldy Cruſts, and a great deal of other Trumpery; which gave ſufficient Diverſion to the People, who ſhouted and clapp'd their Hands at this ridiculous Sight; crying, *Behold the Cardinal's rich Treaſure!* The Muliteers were much aſhamed at this Diſcovery; however, quietly gathering up theſe hungry Relicks, they peaceably marched on. Cardinal *Compeius* was conducted through the City to St. *Paul's*, and having beſtow'd his Bleſſing upon the People, was brought to Cardinal *Woolſey*'s Palace, where he lodg'd, having his Golden Croſſes, Pillars, Guilt Axe, and Mace carry'd before him.

And now, as *Woolſey* had the Power, ſo he main-tain'd the Port and Grandure of a Prince. Of which we have this Account: He had in his Hall three long Tables, to which belong'd three ſeveral Officers; a Steward who was always a Prieſt, a Treaſurer a Knight, and a Comptroller an Eſquire. He had alſo in the Hall, a Confeſſor, a Doctor, three Marſhals, three Uſhers, two Almoners, and two Grooms: In the Hall-Kitchen, two Clerks, a Comptroller, a Surveyor over the Dreſſer, a Clerk of the Spicery, two Cooks, 12 Labourers and Children: In the Kitchen, a Maſter-Cook, clothed in Velvet or Sattin, with a Gold Chain, two Under-Cooks, ſix Labourers, four Scullerymen, two Yeomen of the Paſtry, and two Paſte-layers under him: In the Larder, a Yeoman and a Groom: In the Buttery, two Yeomen and two Grooms: In the Ewry, as many: In the Cellar, three Yeomen, and three Pages: In the Chandlery, two Yeomen: In the Wafery, two Yeomen: In the Ward-robe of the Beds, the Maſter, and twenty Perſons beſides: In the Landery, a Yeoman, a Groom, and two Pages; two Yeomen Purveyors, and a Groom Purveyor: In the Bakehouſe, two Yeomen, and two Grooms:

Grooms: In the Wood-yard, a Yeoman and a Groom: In the Barn, a Yeoman: Two Yeomen and two Grooms, Porters at the Gate: A Yeoman of his Bing, a Maſter of his Horſe, a Clerk and Yeoman of the Stables, a Farrier and Yeoman of the Stirrup, a Malter and ſixteen Grooms, every one keeping four Geldings. His Chappel was furniſh'd with a vaſt Number of coſtly Ornaments and rich Jewels, forty Copes, gloriouſly embroider'd with Gold and Silver, Silver Candleſticks, and other neceſſary Utenſils: In which were a Dean, a Repeater of the Quire, a Goſpeller, an Epiſtoler of the ſinging Prieſts, a Maſter of the Children. In the Veſtry, a Yeoman and two Grooms. Beſides other Retainers that appeared at principal Feaſts.

He had likewiſe two Croſs-bearers and two Pillar-bearers in the Great Chamber; and in his Privy-Chamber, the Chief Chamberlain, Vice Chamberlain, Gentleman-Uſher, twelve Waiters, ſix Gentlemen-Waiters; alſo nine or ten Lords, who had two or three Men to wait on them, and the Earl of *Derby* had five. Then he had Gentlemen Cup-bearers, Carvers, and forty Sewers of the Great and Privy Chamber, ſix Yeomen Uſhers, eight Grooms, twelve Doctors and Chaplains, daily Gueſts; beſides his own Clerk of his Cloſet, two Secretaries, two Clerks of his Signet, and four Counſellors Learned in the Law.

As he was Lord Chancellor of *England*, he had a riding Clerk, a Clerk of the Crown, of the Hamper, of the Check, four Footmen with gallant Liveries, a Herald at Arms, a Serjeant at Arms, a Phyſician, an Apothecary, four Minſtrels, a Keeper of his Tents when upon a Journey, and an Armourer. Alſo in his Houſe, a Surveyor of *York*, a Clerk of the Green-Cloth; all theſe attended daily. At Dinner he had every Day eight Tables furniſh'd for his Chamberlains and Gentlemen Officers, half of whom were young Lords, who had two or three Perſons to wait on them, and all the reſt had one. Theſe were all

his enrolled Servants (beſides Retainers, and other Perſons that came about Buſineſs, who daily dined in his Hall) which, according to the Liſt, amounted to eighteen hundred Perſons, So that he was as bountiful an Houſekeeper as any in that Age, and much ſuperior to any ſince.

When he went to *Weſtminſter-Hall* to hear Cauſes as Lord Chancellor, he was clothed in Red, like a Cardinal, his upper Garment all of Scarlet, or elſe fine Crimſon Taffety, or Crimſon Sattin in Grain. A black Tippet of Sables about his Neck, and an Orange in his Hand, the Inſide taken out, and filled with Confections, to prevent the ill Scents from the Crouds of People. Being mounted, his two Croſs-bearers, and his two Pillar-bearers, all in Scarlet, rid before him; then one with the Purſe and Great Seal of *England*, another with his Cardinal's Cap; then a Train of Gentlemen with every one a Pole-ax, next the Cardinal himſelf, attended on each Side by four Footmen. In the ſame State he went every Sunday to the Court in a very rich Barge, with Yeomen all round, where when he arrived he was attended by the Lord Treaſurer, Comptroller, and other principal Officers of the King's Houſe, who convey'd him in State into the King's Chamber.

In this Grandeur he continued fourteen or fifteen Years, managing all Affairs of State, to whom all foreign Ambaſſadors made their Application, and all Addreſſes and Petitions were offer'd. And to ſecure this ſovereign Power which he had gain'd over the King's Affections, he contriv'd all kind of Divertiſements ſuitable to his juvenile Temper; as Masking, Dancing, Banquetting, young Ladies, and variety of other Paſtimes. I ſaw the King, ſaith my Author, come one Time ſuddenly to the Cardinal's Palace at *Weſtminſter*, now *Whitehall*, which he had newly built, with twelve Maſquers, attired like Shepherds in Cloth of Gold and Silver embroider'd, and others in Vizors all

all in Sattin. The King came privately by Water, and arriving at the Stairs, ſeveral great Guns were diſcharg'd, which much ſurpriz'd the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Ladies, a great number of whom the Cardinal at that time was treating at a ſumptuous Supper, he himſelf ſitting at the upper End of the Table under a Cloth of State, a Gentleman and Lady being placed together through all the Tables. The Cardinal at the great Noiſe, as if ignorant of the Matter, deſired the Lord Chamberlain to enquire the Meaning thereof. Who looking out of the Window into the *Thames*, return'd, and told him he believ'd there were ſome Noblemen and Strangers coming to land at the Stairs. My Lord, ſaid the Cardinal, I entreat you, who can ſpeak *French*, to go and receive them, and conduct them to our Banquet, deſiring them to ſet down and be merry with us. The Lord Chamberlain went into the Hall, and with twenty Torches, and a great number of Drums and Trumpets, brought them into the Dining-Room, who by two together went up to the Cardinal's Chair, and ſaluted him. To whom the Lord Chamberlain ſaid, My Lord Cardinal, theſe Gentlemen being Strangers, and not ſpeaking *Engliſh*, deſire me to inform your Grace, that hearing of your magnificent Banquet this Night, and of ſuch a number of handſom Ladies as were aſſembled thereto, they preſumed upon your Grace's Goodneſs to intrude into your Palace to take a View of theſe fine Beauties, and to offer their Service to them. The Cardinal replied, They were welcome; whereupon having ſaluted all the Ladies, a great Cup of Gold filled with Crown Pieces was open'd, and they thrown on the Table to play withal. After they had play'd ſome time, the Gentlemen came and threw down their Winnings before the Cardinal, being about two hundred Crowns: Have at all, quoth he; and throwing a Die, he won it, whereat the Company ſeemed much pleaſed.

Then ſaid the Cardinal, My Lord Chamberlain, pray go and tell theſe Gentlemen, that I am of opinion there is a Nobleman among them who better deſerves to ſit in this Place than I, and to whom I gladly would ſurrender it, according to my Duty, if I knew him. The Lord Chamberlain ſpoke to them in *French*, and they replied, That they muſt confeſs there was ſuch a noble Perſonage among them, whom if his Grace could diſtinguiſh from the reſt, he would then diſcover himſelf, and accept of his Place. The Cardinal taking a ſtrict Review of them, ſaid, I believe the Gentleman with the black Beard is he, and thereupon he roſe up, and offer'd him his chair, with the cup in his Hand; but it was Sir *Edward Nevil*, who was very like King *Henry*, who ſeeing the Cardinal's Miſtake, could not forbear laughing, and pulling off his Vizor and Sir *Edward*'s likewiſe, diſcover'd himſelf to all his Gueſts, and then withdrawing, cloth'd himſelf in his Royal Robes. In which ſhort ſpace the Tables were again cover'd with perfum'd Linen, and the King and his Maſquers returning in their rich clothes, a royal Banquet of 200 Diſhes was brought in, where they continued Feaſting and Dancing till next Morning. As theſe Entertainments diſcover the Magnificence wherein the Cardinal lived, ſo alſo the familiar Temper of King *Henry*, whom one Hiſtorian ſays was ſo free from Pride, that he was rather too humble, at leaſt he converſed with his ſubjects in a more familiar manner than is uſual with other Princes. Which is confirmed by a Paſſage in the eleventh Year of his Reign, when the Privy Council complaining, that certain young Gentlemen in his court, forgetting the Reſpect due to his Royalty, uſed many unſeemly Actions and Diſcourſes with him, they were, with his conſent, baniſh'd the court, and ſeveral antient grave Knights and Gentlemen placed in their Room about his Perſon.

Neither

Neither did the Cardinal's Grandure conſiſt only in theſe Inſtances, but likewiſe in erecting magnificent Houſes and Palaces; as *York-Place* at *Weſtminſter*, ſo named by him from his Archbiſhoprick, now *Whitehall*; *Hampton-Court*; his ſtately Buildings at *Chriſt-Church* and *Windſor*. He likewiſe deſign'd to have built two new Colleges in *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*, the Town of his Birth, and obtained a Licence of Pope *Clement* to ſuppreſs forty Monaſteries, and ſeize their Revenues to perform the ſame. And for the ſupport of his Dignity, he enjoy'd at one time ſeven rich Biſhopricks, *viz. York*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Tournay*, *Bath*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, ſo that he ſeem'd a Monſter with ſeven Heads, each of them honour'd with a Mitre. Being thus imperiouſly great, more like a Prince than a Prieſt, he was continually inventing new Ways for getting Money; requiring an Account of the Captains, Treaſurers, and other Officers that had been imploy'd in paying the ſoldiers in the Wars, ſome of whom he obliged to refund great ſums of their ill-gotten Eſtates, who made themſelves poor to enrich him; others compounded for half they were worth; but thoſe that had prodigally ſpent what they wrongfully gain'd, were expoſed to publick ſhame and puniſhment: ſo that none ſuffer'd, though deeply criminal, but only for the mortal Sin of Poverty. He likewiſe erected ſeveral Courts of Equity, as he called them, but the People called them Courts of Iniquity, in which, upon pretence of relieving the Poor from the Rigour of the Law, he brought ſuch a multitude of Cauſes into them, that the other Courts of Juſtice were abandon'd, and he thereby gain'd vaſt Treaſures, till at length the People perceiving that he only grew rich, and themſelves poor, and that the Verdicts in theſe Courts would not ſtand in common Law, they left them, and return'd to the former Courſe of Proceeding. He likewiſe erected a Court which he call'd the Legantine Court, whereby he viſited all Biſhopricks

and Monaſteries, puniſhing ſuch Clergymen as were unable to bribe him, but inriching himſelf by thoſe who were full of Money, and full of Faults. By the ſame Authority he ſuppreſs'd ſeveral Abbies and Priories, ſeizing all their Lands, leaving only a ſmall Penſion to the Abbots and Priors, whereby he purchas'd great Riches and great Hatred from the Clergy, who in many Places oppos'd his Viſitor Dr. *Allen* (who rid in a Velvet Gown with a great Train) and for which they were openly curſed by Dr. *Foreſt*, at *Paul*'s Croſs, ſo that the Cardinal prevail'd againſt 'em all; the Generality complaining, that by his Viſitations, Probate of Wills, granting of Faculties, Licences, and other Tricks, he made his Revenue equal to the King's, beſides great Sums which he yearly convey'd to the Court of *Rome*.

In 1517. the Citizens of *London* being provoked by the multitude of *French* and *Walloons*, who ſettling here, underſold their Goods, and thereby impoveriſh'd 'em, they reſolved to be rid of this Annoyance all at once. Whereupon *John Lincoln*, a Broker, perſuaded one Dr. *Bell* to repreſent this great Grievance to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in a Sermon at the *Spital*, on *Eaſter Tueſday*, who took theſe Words for his Text, *The Heaven is the Lord's, but the Earth he has given to the Sons of Men.* From hence he infer'd, *That this Land was given to* Engliſhmen, *who were oblig'd to defend the ſame as Birds do their Neſts, and to fight for their Country, by the Laws of God, againſt all Strangers and Foreigners, who, to the great Vexation and Ruin of the People, had now over-run the Land, and for which there could be no redreſs to be had, but by the Commons uniting together, and extirpating them out of the City and Kingdom, and thereby avenging themſelves of the many Affronts and Abuſes they had lately publickly offer'd them.* This Sermon inflam'd the Minds of the Citizens, who were ſufficiently enrag'd before, ſo that they took all Occaſions to quarrel with the Foreigners; and a Rumour

mour was ſpread, that the next *May-day* would be very remarkable. The Cardinal and Council hearing of it, ordered the Lord Mayor to keep ſtrong Watches throughout the City. However on *May-day* Eve ſeveral Hundred of young Fellows got together, and in the Morning they fell to rifling the Houſes of ſeveral Foreigners; but four or five hundred of them being ſeized by the Lord Mayor, were committed to Priſon, and two hundred ſeventy eight were afterward indicted for High Treaſon, but *John Lincoln* only was executed; the King, by the Interceſſion of three Queens, *Katherine* Queen of *England*, the *French* Queen, and the Queen of *Scots* his Siſters, and by the Perſuaſion of Cardinal *Woolſey*, without whoſe Advice he would do nothing, pardoning all the reſt, being four hundred Men and eleven Women, who were brought by the Lord Mayor with Ropes about their Necks into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the Cardinal ſeverely reprimanded the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for their Negligence in not ſecuring the Peace of the City, and then aggravated the high Crime of the Priſoners, who had juſtly deſerved Death. Upon which they all cry'd to the King for Mercy, who told them he would pardon them all; which he had no ſooner pronounc'd, but the Priſoners gave a loud Shout, throwing up their Halters toward the Top of the Hall, and ſo were diſmiſſed, and the Gibbets, ſet up in ſeveral Parts of the City for their Execution, taken down; and afterwards this was named, *The evil May-day*.

About this time *Maximilian* the Emperor died, and *Charles* V. his Son, ſucceeded him in the Empire of *Germany*, the Kingdom of *Spain*, and the *Low Countries*. Upon which Cardinal *Woolſey* was ſent over to *Bruges* in *Flanders* to condole with, and congratulate the young Emperor, then reſident there, furniſh'd in all Reſpects like a great Prince, his Attendants being cloth'd, ſome in crimſon Velvet, and Chains of Gold about their Necks; others in fine Scarlet, edg'd with black Velvet;

vet; and was receiv'd by the Emperor with as much Honour as if it had been the King himſelf, having the Great Seal of *England* with him, which was always carry'd before him, being ſerved upon the Knee by ſeveral *Engliſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen, the *Germans* admiring at his ſtrange Pride and Inſolence. After which he returned into *England* in great Triumph, being more in Favour with the King than before.

The *French* King *Lewis* being weary of the War with *England*, and having a great kindneſs for the Lady *Mary*, King *Henry*'s Siſter, ſent Ambaſſadors to treat of Peace, and a Marriage with her; both which were ſoon concluded, and the Lady was ſent to *France*, and crowned Queen at *Paris*, the *French* declaring, *They thought themſelves the happieſt People in the World, who had ſo good a King and fair a Queen to reign over them.* But King *Lewis*, after twelve Weeks converſe with his beautiful Lady, died, and his Brother *Francis* I. ſucceeded him, who renewed the former Amity between the two Kingdoms; and for further confirmation of the ſame, deſired an Interview between them, which the Cardinal perſuaded the King to gratify him in. Whereupon King *Henry* and his Queen, attended by *Woolſey*, and a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, ſailed over to *Calais*, and in a Plain near *Guiſnes*, a large Palace of Timber was framed, where both the Kings met and embraced each other with much ſeeming Affection, and nothing was wanting as to Juſts, Tournaments, and the other princely military Exerciſes of that Age, proper for ſuch a Royal Aſſembly.

Soon after, *Charles* the Emperor coming out of *Spain* to ſail into the *Low Countries*, landed at *Dover*, where he was received and entertain'd by the Cardinal, and King *Henry* went to *Canterbury* to meet him, and having ſumptuouſly treated him a few Days, the Emperor purſued his Voyage to *Flanders* in forty four Men of War. A while after ſome Differences happen'd between

between the *French* King and the Emperor; to compoſe which, *Woolſey* with ſome other Noblemen were ſent, but they not prevailing, King *Henry* fell from the *French* King, alledging, that he had ſtirred up the *Scots* to make war with him: But King *Francis* laid all the blame on the Cardinal's Diſſimulation and treacherous Practices. However, the War proceeded betwixt the two Kingdoms, and between the *French* King, and the Duke of *Bourbon*, inſomuch that the Duke fled out of *France* to the Emperor to ſave his Life. The Cardinal having notice of it, contriv'd that he ſhould be King *Henry*'s General againſt the *French* King, who thereupon raiſed a great Army againſt *Bourbon*, and drove him into the Town of *Pavia* in *Italy*, where he was ſo cloſely beſieged, that he could get no Proviſions, the Cardinal being ſecretly corrupted by the *French* King to with-hold his Pay, ſo that his Soldiers were ready to mutiny againſt their new General. Finding his Caſe deſperate, he reſolved to attempt an Eſcape, and in the dead of the Night ſent ſome Forces to attack that part of the *French* Camp which was weakeſt, himſelf marching out on the other ſide the City. The Guards being weak, and the Soldiers aſleep, it cauſed a very great diſturbance among the *French*, who turned their Cannon toward the Aſſaulters; when *Bourbon* falling unexpectedly upon their Backs, drove them from their Cannon, which he turned upon themſelves, ſlew their Soldiers, cut down their Tents, and took King *Francis* Priſoner. This great Succeſs ſo much encourag'd theſe brave *Germans*, that with their imperial Enſigns diſplay'd, they marched to *Florence*, and thence to *Rome*, and gave three Aſſaults to the Walls in one Day, in the laſt of which the Duke of *Bourbon* was ſlain; however his Army being commanded by the Prince of *Orange*, and other brave Generals, the Pope's Palace, and the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* were taken, and the Pope was made Priſoner, with 24 Cardinals that fled thither for Security.

Security. The City of *Rome* alſo was plunder'd, where the Soldiers gain'd a very rich Booty, ſo that they were over-laden with Jewels, Plate, and Money. During the Siege, the Soldiers would often cloath a Man like the Pope, and ſet him on horſeback with a Whore behind him, who ſometimes bleſs'd, and ſometimes curs'd, as he rid along, whom the Soldiers called Antichriſt.

The Cardinal hearing of the Misfortune of the Pope, endeavour'd to induce King *Henry* to declare war againſt the Emperor, and ſhew himſelf the Defender of the Church; who replied, *My Lord, I am more diſturbed at this unhappy Chance than my Tongue can expreſs; but whereas you ſay, that I, as Defender of the Faith, ought to be concerned therein, I do aſſure you my Opinion is, That this War between the Pope and the Emperor is not a War of Religion, or for the Faith, but for temporal Poſſeſſions and Dominion: and now Pope* Clement *is in the Hands of the Soldiers, what can I do? I can neither aſſiſt him with my Perſon, nor my People cannot reſcue him; but if my Treaſure will help him, take what you think convenient.* Whereupon *Woolſey* took two hundred and forty thouſand Pound out of the Exchequer, which he carried over to *Calais*; and from thence, in 80 Waggons, and a Guard of 1200 Horſe, and ſixty Mules and Sumpter Horſes, and attended with a great number of Lords and Gentlemen, he convey'd this great Sum to the *French* Court at *Amiens*; having before his going hence, ſent out Commiſſions to all the Biſhops of *England*, to ſing the Litany after this manner, *Holy* Mary, *pray for our holy Pope* Clement; *Holy* Peter, *pray for our holy Pope* Clement, *&c.* And thus was the Cardinal diſappointed in adviſing the King to declare the Duke of *Bourbon* his General, who proceeded farther than he imagined.

The Cardinal's Ambition being unlimited, he, during the Impriſonment of the Pope, ſent to the Emperor to uſe his Intereſt to advance him to the papal chair;

chair; but receiving a diſobliging Anſwer, he grew ſo furious, that he ſent the Emperor word, *That if he would not endeavour his Advancement, he would make ſuch a ruffling among the Chriſtian Princes as there had not been a hundred Years before, though it ſhould coſt him the whole Kingdom of* England. The Emperor anſwering this inſolent Letter in Print, bid the Cardinal have a care of undertaking what might both ruin himſelf and the Kingdom. Hereupon the Cardinal ſent private Letters to *Clarentius*, King at Arms, to join with the *French* Herald, and proclaim Defiance to the Emperor; who ſuſpecting it was done without the King's knowledge, order'd his Ambaſſador at *London* to complain thereof. The King much wonder'd to hear it, and the Cardinal confidently affirm'd he knew nothing of the Matter, but that it was the Fault of *Clarentius*, who had done it at the requeſt of the *French* Herald, for which he ſwore he ſhould loſe his Head when he came to *Calais*. *Clarentius* having Intelligence hereof, inſtantly embark'd at *Bullein*, and coming to *Greenwich*, was introduc'd by ſome of his Friends into the King's Preſence, before the Cardinal knew of it, and produc'd the Cardinal's Letters, Commiſſion, and Inſtructions for what he had done. At which the King was ſo ſurpriz'd, that he ſtood ſome time ſilent, and then ſaid, *O Lord Jeſus! he that I truſted moſt, hath deceiv'd me, and given a falſe Account of my Affairs. Well*, Clarentius, *for the future I ſhall take care whom I believe, for I find I have been inform'd of a great many Things as true, which I now perceive to be utterly falſe.* And from that time the King withdrew his favour and confidence from him.

Some time before this, the Cardinal ſent Letters to Dr. *Stephen Gardiner*, the King's Orator at *Rome*, and afterward Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, urging him to uſe all means for advancing him to the Papal Dignity, which he ſaid nothing could induce him to aſpire to, but the vehement Deſire he had to reſtore and advance the

Authority

Authority of the church, wherein no Man ſhould be more zealous and indefatigable than himſelf. He likewiſe engag'd the *French* King, and King *Henry*, to write to the Cardinals on his behalf, that he might ſucceed after the Death of Pope *Clement*; and vaſt Sums of Money were waſted in this Buſineſs. But all the Cardinal's ambitious Thoughts prov'd abortive, and as he already began to ſtagger in the King's Favour, ſo in a ſhort time he fell into his high Diſpleaſure. For theſe extravagant Expences drained the King's Treaſury ſo low, that the Cardinal was compell'd to contrive new Ways for filling them again. To which end, without the King's Knowledge, and by his own Authority, he iſſued out commiſſions under the great ſeal to every county in *England*, for taking an account of every Man's Eſtate; and he that was worth fifty Pound, was charged to pay four Shillings in the Pound; all that were worth above twenty, and under fifty Pound, two ſhillings in the Pound; and thoſe not worth twenty Pound, to pay twelve Pence, either in Money or Plate, making himſelf chief commiſſioner for raiſing the ſame in and about *London*. The Clergy were likewiſe charged at four ſhillings in the Pound for their Livings.

Theſe Proceedings were grievous both to the Clergy and People, who generally refuſed to comply, alledging, that the commiſſions were contrary to Law, and againſt the Liberty of the ſubject, and that it was not poſſible for thoſe who were worth more, yet to raiſe the half of what they were charged with, either in Plate or Money, and petition'd the Cardinal to intercede with the King for remitting it. To whom he haughtily replied, That he would rather have his Tongue pluck'd out of his Mouth with Pincers, than move any ſuch thing; and was reſolv'd to make them pay the utmoſt Farthing. And the Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, one of the commiſſioners in *Hampſhire*, ſending a Letter to the Cardinal, that he doubted the raiſing this

this Money would occaſion an Inſurrection, he ſwore deeply, that his not following his Inſtructions ſhould coſt him his Head.

However, the Diſcontents of the People were ſo general, that the Cardinal doubting the Event, thought fit to recal thoſe Commiſſions, and to iſſue others, whereby he demanded a ſixth Part of every Man's Eſtate, according to the aforeſaid Rates, which he did not doubt but they would have complied with. But they renew'd their Complaints, and curſed the tyrannical Cardinal for his arbitrary Proceedings, which at length reached the King's Ear, who being told that all Places were fill'd with Clamours, Diſcontents, and Mutinies, he openly proteſted theſe commiſſions were iſſued out without his knowledge or conſent; and to prevent farther Miſchief, by Proclamation vacated them; declaring, that though his Neceſſities were never ſo urgent, yet he would never force his Subjects to pay any Tax without their own conſent in Parliament, but that his Wants being extream at this time, if they would, by way of Benevolence, ſupply his preſent Exigencies, he ſhould accept it as an infallible Proof of their Love toward their Sovereign.

The Cardinal perceiving himſelf obliquely ſtruck at by this Proclamation, as the principal Author of theſe heavy Preſſures, he politickly ſent for the *Lord Mayor*, *Aldermen*, and *Common-Council* of *London*, to whom he declared, That perceiving the former Demands to be grievous to the People, he had upon his Knees (for the Love and Kindneſs he bore toward them) perſwaded the King to annul thoſe commiſſions, and wholly to rely upon the free Gift of his People: and though the King might have juſtly demanded the former Sums as a due Debt, yet he freely releaſed them of the ſame; not doubting but they would equal, if not exceed, the Rates formerly requir'd of them. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen aſſembling their reſpective Wards, acquainted them with the King's Deſire; but

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the Citizens abſolutely refuſed to give any thing, alledging they had paid enough already, and were able to do no more, adding many opprobrious Words againſt the Cardinal; who having notice of it, ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen again, ſaying, he would examine them upon Oath what they were worth, which they alſo denied to have done; and and one of their Counſellors pleaded, that the demanding or paying of any Benevolence was contrary to the Statute made in the firſt Year of King *Richard* III. What, ſays the Cardinal, do you quote a Law made by an Uſurper and Murderer? The Counſellor replied, The Act was made by the Lords and Commons of *England*, and not by him alone. *Well, my Lord Mayor and Aldermen*, ſaid the Cardinal, *pray tell me what you will give? My Lord, pray excuſe me*, ſaid the Lord Mayor, *for if I ſhould offer any thing, I do not know but it may coſt me my Life. What, for your Kindneſs to your King? that's very ſtrange*, ſaid the Cardinal, *why then I am afraid you will conſtrain the King to force you to your Duty; well, my Lord, pray go home, and tell your Neighbours, the King will be very kind to them, if they do but ſhew their Good-will to him in ſome competent Sum.* Next Day the Lord Mayor called a *Common-Council*, where it was unanimouſly voted, that the Meeting of the Aldermen in their reſpective Wards, in order to the demanding a Benevolence of the Subject, was contrary to Law, and not to be regarded. Two or three of the *Common-Council* moved, that every Man ſhould go to the Cardinal, and give him privately what they thought fit; but this ſo enrag'd the reſt, that they requir'd that theſe Men ſhould be for ever excluded from ſitting in the *Common Council*, and ſo the court broke up in diſorder, and every Man went home. Neither had this Project better Succeſs in other Places, the People in *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *&c.* aſſembling three or four thouſand in a company, and openly declaring againſt the Benevolence; and the

Duke

Duke of *Norfolk* coming to them, and demanding what was the cauſe of their Inſurrection, and who was their captain, was anſwer'd, *That Poverty was both their cauſe and captain, the great Taxes they had already paid, having ſo ruined their Trades, that they had not Bread for their Families, nor Work to employ them in*; deſiring the Duke to mediate with the King on their behalf.

The King having daily Intelligence of theſe Diſorders, thought it dangerous to proceed further in this Matter; and ſummoning a great *Council* to *York-place*, now *Whitehall*, he again made a ſolemn Proteſtation, *That he never deſign'd to demand any thing of his People, which might tend to the Breach of the Laws, and deſir'd to know by whoſe Order thoſe Commiſſions were iſſued out to demand the ſixth Part of every Man's Eſtate.* The Cardinal anſwer'd, that it was done by the conſent of the whole Council, and by the Advice of the Judges, for the ſupply of the King's Wants, who ſaid it might lawfully be demanded, and that he took God to Witneſs he never deſigned to oppreſs the Subject, but like a juſt counſellor contrived how to enrich the King; and ſome Clergymen had told him, that it might be done by the Law of God, becauſe *Joſeph* cauſed *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, to take the fifth Part of every Man's Goods in that Land; *but however*, ſaid he, *ſince I find every Man is willing to free himſelf of this Burden, I am content to take upon me the Scandal of it, and bear the Ill-will of the Multitude for my Good-will toward the King, and to clear you, my Lords and Counſellors; but the eternal God knows all.*——*Well*, ſaid the King, *I have been inform'd that my Realm was never ſo rich as now, and that no Trouble would have riſen upon this Demand, ſince every Man would freely pay it at the firſt requeſt, but now I find all contrary.* At which all held their peace. *Come*, ſaid the King, *I'll have no more of theſe Diſturbances; pray ſend Letters to every county in* England, *to recal the Benevolence, I will freely pardon what*

what is paſt, but pray let me hear no more of it. The Lords on their Knees returned the King Thanks, and Letters were ſent accordingly, wherein ſomewhat to excuſe the Cardinal, it was inſerted, *That the Lords, Judges, and others of the Privy-Council firſt contrived that Demand, and that the Cardinal only concurred with them in it.* But however the common People had a mortal Averſion to him for this and many other illegal Practices, and his Intereſt with the King ſeemed likewiſe daily to leſſen. And to diſoblige the Court, he inſinuated to the King, that his Family was much out of Order, and undertook to reform the ſame, by removing ſeveral Officers and Servants from their Places, and putting ill Men in their room. He likewiſe preſented his Manour and Palace of *Hampton-court* to the King, a little to ſweeten him. In recompence of which, the King gave him leave to keep his Court in his Palace at *Richmond*, wherein King *Henry* VII. did ſo extreamly delight, which yet made him the more abhorr'd, both by the courtiers and people, who reproachfully ſaid, *Who would ever have thought to have ſeen a Butcher's Dog lie in the Palace of* Richmond?

After this, the Marriage of the King with Queen *Katherine*, his Brother *Arthur*'s Widow, began to be queſtion'd. And ſome Authors ſay, the Scruple about it was firſt put into the King's Head by Cardinal *Wooſey*, who being naturally revengful, and never forgiving an Injury, moved it, partly to be avenged on the Emperor, whoſe Siſter Q. *Katherine* was, for not making him Pope, and partly becauſe the Queen had often ſecretly and modeſtly reprov'd him for his Tyranny, Covetouſneſs, Oppreſſion, Pride, and Laſciviouſneſs. K. *Henry* ſeemed much diſturbed at this Motion, and deſired that the Legality of his Marriage might be debated by the Learned, pretending he had no Deſign in it, but only to ſatisfy his conſcience, and to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion of the crown in a rightful

rightful Heir, which could not be done if Queen *Katherine* were not his lawful Wife; upon this Account a religious Sorrow seemed to seize upon him, and he refrained from the Queen's Bed, till, by a Judicial Sentence, this grand Affair might be settled: The Cardinal, to advance his Reputation highest with the King, procured a commission from the Pope to himself and Cardinal *Campeius*, that before them, as supream Judges, this Question might be debated by legal Processes and Proceedings, and determined according to the Laws of God and Man; the King declaring he intended nothing but Justice in the case, and allowed the Queen to chuse *Counsellors* to defend her cause, who nominated *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *West* of *Ely*, *Fisher* of *Rochester*, the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, and some others.

Campeius being again arrived in *England*, the two Legates caused a stately court to be erected in *Black Friers*; and their commission being read, the *Cryer* called, *Henry* King of *England*, who answered, *Here*: Then he cried, *Katherine* Queen of *England* come into the court: The Queen made no Answer, but rising out of her chair, came to the King, and kneeling at his Feet, she, in broken *English*, spake thus to him: *Sir, I beseech you do me Justice and Right, and take some Pity upon me; I am a poor Woman and a Stranger born out of your Dominions, having here no indifferent Council, and less Assurance of Friendship: Alas, Sir, how have I offended you, that you thus intended to shorten my Days? I take God to witness I have been to you a true and loyal Wife, ever conformable to your Will, and never contradicting your Desires; but have always complied and submitted to your Pleasure in all Things, without the least grudging or discontent. For your sake I have loved all Men whom you loved, whether they were my Friends or Enemies; I have been your Wife these twenty Years, by whom you have had many Children; and when I first came to your Bed, God and your own Conscience knows that I was a Virgin:*

Virgin; If you can prove any diſhoneſty by me, whereby you may lawfully put me from you, I am willing to leave you with Shame and Rebuke; but if I am guilty of none, I beſeech you let me have Juſtice at your Hands. The King your Father was a Man of excellent Wiſdom in his Time, and accounted a ſecond Solomon, *and the King of* Spain, Ferdinand, *my Father, was reckoned one of the wiſeſt Princes that has reigned there for many Years; and doubtleſs they had both as wiſe Counſellors as any are at this day, and who could never have imagined when you and I were married that ſuch new Deviſes ſtould have been invented, as to compel me to ſubmit to the Decrees of this Court, from whom I may expect to receive wrong, and may be condemned for not anſwering, but not to have Right adminiſtred to me, ſince I can have no indifferent Council aſſigned me to plead my Cauſe, but muſt make choice of your own Subjects, who know your Mind, and dare not contradict your Will. Therefore I moſt humbly beſeech you to ſtay till I know how my Friends in* Spain *will adviſe me; but if you will not, you may do your Pleaſure.* So making a low curteſy to the King, ſhe departed out of the Court: Upon which the King bid the Cryer call her back, which he did, but ſhe refuſed to return, ſaying, *It is no indifferent Court to me, I will not go back.*

When ſhe was gone, the King declared to the Court, That ſhe had been a loyal, loving, and obedient Wife to him, and was endued with all the good Qualities and Virtues of a Woman either of her Dignity, or any other meaner Eſtate. After which *Woolſey* ſaid, *I humbly beſeech your Highneſs to declare to this Audience, whether I have been the firſt and chief Mover of this Matter to your Highneſs or not, for I am much ſuſpected by all Men.* The King declared he was not, but rather adviſed the contrary, but that the ſpecial Cauſe that moved him in this Matter, was a certain Scruple of Conſcience upon ſome Words ſpoken by the Biſhop of *Bayon* the *French* Ambaſſador, upon a Debate about

about a Marriage between the Lady *Mary* his only Daughter, and the Duke of *Orleans*'s ſecond Son to the *French* King, the Biſhop deſiring time to conſult his Maſter, Whether the Lady *Mary* were Legitimate as being born of his Brother *Arthur*'s Wife. This Diſcourſe ſo affected him, conſidering he had no Heirs Male, they all dying as ſoon as born, that he judged God Almighty was diſpleas'd at this Match. Hereupon, conſidering the State of the Realm, and deſpairing to have any more Children by his Queen, whereby the Kingdom might be endangered for want of a Prince to ſucceed him, and to quiet his own Mind which was toſſed with the Waves of troubleſome Doubts, he deſired to have the Opinion of the learned Prelates and Paſtors of the Realm, Whether by the Laws of God and the Land, he might take another Wife (if his firſt Marriage were not legal) by which he might have more Iſſue? Affirming in the Preſence of God, that he had no diſlike to the Perſon nor Age of the Queen, with whom he could be content to live, if it were the Will of God; nor out of carnal concupiſcence or deſire of change, but only for the ſettling of his Conſcience.

After this the Court ſat daily, where many ſubtil and learned Arguments touching the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage was handled; but the Queen appealing to the Court of *Rome* for deciding this Queſtion, from which ſhe could not be diſſuaded. The King expected a definitive Sentence on his behalf, which the two Legates declined to give, which ſo inraged the King, who now perceived their Diſſimulation, and that they purpoſely contrived Delays, that from this time he had a mortal Hatred againſt his falſe Favourite *Woolſey*, whom from a contemptible Birth and Eſtate, he had preferr'd to be Abbot of St. *Albans*, his Almoner, a Councellor of State, Biſhop of *Winchester*, *Durham*, *Lincoln*, *Bath*, *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, *Tournay*, Archbiſhop of *York*, an Ambaſſador to Kings and Princes, his Chan-

Chancellor and Cardinal, who by contriving this Buſineſs, thereby to render himſelf gracious with the King, and to be reveng'd of his Enemies, brought Ruin at length upon himſelf.

For notwithſtanding the King excuſed him from being the Author of this Scruple of Conſcience, yet *Woolſey* ſeemed at firſt very forward in promoting it, and to incline to have it determined according to the King's Mind, but afterward perceiving the fatal conſequences thereof, which might at length ſhake the Infallibility of the Papal Chair, if the caſe were decided according to the Scriptures, he declined proceeding there: For if the Marriage was unlawful, then the former Diſpenſation of Pope *Julius* was null and void, and if it was lawful, then the Judgment of ſo many learned Univerſities as had given their Opinion to the contrary, was falſe. In this difficulty his Colleague *Campeius* went out of the Kingdom before the Day of the final Determination of the Matter, leaving *Woolſey* to bear all the Weight of the King's Indignation.

Another Cauſe of the Cardinal's oppoſing the Divorce was, that the King during the Ventilation of this knotty Caſe, had fallen in Love with Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, one of the Maids of Honour to Queen *Katherine*, and Daughter to Sir *Thomas Bullen*, (afterward Earl of *Wiltſhire*) a Lady no way favourable to his Pontifical Grandure, nor to the Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*: So that when the King diſcovered his great Affection for her, the Cardinal upon his Knees uſed many Arguments to diſſuade him from it; which the Lady had Notice of; and therefore when the King once entertained him at a great Feaſt, ſhe being preſent, among other Diſcourſe ſaid, Sir, is it not a marvellous Thing to think into what great Debt this Cardinal hath brought you, to all your Subjects? How ſo, quoth the King, Why, ſays ſhe, there is not a Man in your whole Kingdom worth an hundred pounds

pounds but he hath made you a Debtor to him (meaning the Loan which the Cardinal had borrowed for the King ſome Years before, and which he procured the Houſe of Commons, who were moſt of them the King's Servants, to diſcharge without repaying a Farthing, to the great Loſs of the People :) Nay, added ſhe, how many Violences and Oppreſſions is he guilty of, to your great Diſhonour, in divers parts of the Realm, ſo that if my Lord of *Norfolk*, my Lord of *Suffolk*, my own Father, or any other Nobleman had done but half ſo much Wrong as he, they well deſerved to loſe their Heads. Then I perceive, ſaid the King, that you are no Friend of my Lord Cardinal. Why Sir, quoth ſhe, I have no Cauſe, no more have any others that love the King : Neither has your Grace any Reaſon to be kind to him, conſidering his unlawful Actions. The King ſaid no more, but went away.

The Council and Nobility perceiving that the King's Heart was eſtranged from *Woolſey*, reſolved if poſſible to depreſs him, for he was generally hated for his exceſſive Pride, Tyranny, Oppreſſions, Injuſtice, Covetouſneſs, Debauchery, and cruel Revenge, and likewiſe for his ſecret Intrigues with the Pope and Church of *Rome*, whereby the King's Authority and Prerogative Royal in all Things touching the Church and Clergy were made void. Hereupon they concluded him guilty of a Premunire, and that conſequently he had forfeited all his Promotions, Spiritual and Temporal, and likewiſe his Liberty, to the King. Theſe Crimes the Nobility drew into Articles, which were ſigned with their Hands, and delivered to the King, as followeth :

I. That by ſubtil and indirect Means he had procured himſelf, without the King's Conſent, to be made a Legate, whereby he deprived the Biſhops and Clergy of *England* of all Juriſdiction in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

2. That in all his Letters to foreign Princes, he uſed

the inſolent Stile of *Ego & Rex meus*, I and my King, as if the King were his Inferior or Servant. 3. That he unchriſtianly and abominably ſlandered the Church of *England* to the Pope, affirming, *That they were Reprobates and without Faith*; and that there was an abſolute Neceſſity for him to be made Legate, to reduce them to the true Belief. 4. That without the King's conſent he carried the Great Seal of *England* to *Flanders* only for vain-glory, and to the great Damage of the Subjects of *England*. 5. That he being filthily powdered with the *French* Pox, by reaſon of his exceſſive Letchery and debauched Life, did oft preſume to diſcourſe with, and caſt his unwholſome Breath into the King's Face. 6. That to obtain his Dignities, he had conveyed out of the Realm 240,000 *l.* at one time, and incredible Sums at other times: And to enrich the King again, had, of his own accord, ſent out Commiſſions for exacting infinite Sums contrary to Law, which raiſed Hatred and Inſurrections among the People againſt the King.

Theſe with many other Articles being charged againſt *Woolſey*, he with his own Hand freely ſubſcribed to them, confeſſing all of them to be true, throwing himſelf upon the King's Mercy, hoping he would have forgiven him; but finding that he diſpoſed of his Offices, and part of his Eſtate, he ſecretly procured a Bull from the Pope to Curſe and Excommunicate the King, unleſs he would reſtore him all his Dignities and Lands, declaring, That the King himſelf, nor any other Authority on Earth but the Pope alone, had power to puniſh any Clergyman for any Crime whatſoever. This Bull, with the Letters ſent by ſeveral Cardinals, to incourage him not to be diſcouraged, aſſuring him of his Reſtauration, and that the King ſhould be certainly croſs'd in the Buſineſs of his Marriage, ſo animated the Cardinal that he did not doubt of his Re-advancement, if not with, yet without the King's conſent, ſo that he made great Preparations for his

his Inſtalment into his Archbiſhoprick of *York*, which he deſigned to ſolemnize with extraordinary Magnificence, having erected a ſtately Seat of a great height in that Cathedral, reſembling the Throne of a King, and writ Letters to the Nobility and Gentry of the North, kindly inviting them to be preſent at his Inſtalment, for which he had made proviſion of all manner of Dainties. Theſe Preparations being made without acquainting the King therewith, and ſeeming to be in Contempt of him, who had been ſo kind to allow him the Biſhopricks of *York* and *Wincheſter*, though juſtly forfeited to the Crown, cauſed the King to put a ſtop to his aſpiring purpoſes, ſo that he ſent an Order to the Earl of *Northumberland* to arreſt him, and deliver him to the Earl of *Shrewsbury* Lord High Steward of the Houſhold. The Earl accordingly went to his Manor of *Caywood*, about ſeven Miles from *York*, and coming into his Chamber told him, he arreſted him for High Treaſon in the King's name: The Cardinal was ſo aſtoniſh'd, that for ſome time he ſtood ſpeechleſs, at length recovering himſelf, he ſaid, You have no power to Arreſt me, who am both a Cardinal and a Legate, and alſo a Peer of the See Apoſtolick of *Rome*, and ought not to be Arreſted by any Temporal Power, for I am ſubject to none, and none will I obey. Well, ſaid the Earl, here is the King's Commiſſion, and therefore I charge you to ſubmit; I remember when I was ſworn Warden of the Marches, you your ſelf told me, That with my Staff only I might arreſt any Man under the degree of a King, and now I am ſtronger, for I alſo have a Commiſſion for what I have done. The Cardinal at length recollecting himſelf, Well, my Lord, ſaid he, I am contented to ſubmit; but though by Negligence I fell into the danger of a Premunire, whereby I forfeited all my Lands and Goods to the Law, yet my Perſon was under the King's protection, and I was pardoned that Offence, therefore I much wonder I ſhould be now arreſted, eſpecially conſidering I am a Member of the

Sacred College at Rome, on whom no Temporal Man ought to lay hands; well, I find the King wants good Counſellors about him. He was then kept cloſe in one of his chambers, and Dr. *Auſtin*, his Phyſician, was at the ſame time arreſted for High Treaſon and ſent to the *Tower*. The Cardinal's Goods were all ſeized, and his Servants diſcharged, and he himſelf was ſo dejected that he continually lamented his hard Fortune with ſuch a mean and unbecoming Sorrow as ſuch haughty Spirits are commonly ſubject to when they fall into Adverſity, as having neither good conſciences nor manly courage to ſupport their drooping Spirits. From hence he was carried to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s to *Sheffield*, where he continued till the King ſent Sir *W. Kingſton*, Captain of the Guard and Conſtable of the Tower, to bring him to *London*, the ſight of whom ſo daunted him, that he redoubled his Lamentations, and would receive no comfort, and much doubting he ſhould loſe his Head, he took ſo ſtrong a Purge, or poiſonous Potion, for fear of being brought to open Puniſhment for his many Enormities, as in a few days put an End to his Life at *Leiceſter* Abbey in his Journey towards *London*.

Being near his End, he called Sir *W. Kingſton* to him, and ſaid, Pray preſent my Duty to his Majeſty, who is a noble and gallant Prince, and of a reſolved Mind; for he will venture the Loſs of his Kingdom rather than be contradicted in his Deſires. I do aſſure you, I have ſometimes kneeled three hours together to diſſuade him from his Reſolutions, but could never prevail; therefore you had need take care what you put into his Head, for you never can get it out again. And now Mr. *Kingſton*, had I but ſerved God as diligently as I have ſerved the King, he would never have forſaken me in my grey Hairs; but this is the juſt Reward that I receive for all my Pains and Labour, who neglected the Service of God, and ſtudied only to pleaſe and humour my Prince. He then vilified the Pro-

Proteſtants, whom he named *Helliſh Lutherans*, and that the King ſhould take care to extirpate them, as being the Occaſion of Rebellions and Inſurrections in *Bohemia* and in *England* in King *Richard* II's time, and other places, and that theſe Seditions and Hereſies would ruin Holy Church, and bring deſtruction upon the Realm. About eight o' clock at Night he gave up the Ghoſt, as himſelf had predicted the day before. A perſon, in whoſe Arms he died, affirmed, that his Body when dead was as black as Pitch, and ſo heavy, that ſix Men could hardly carry it, and ſtunk ſo horridly, that they were forced to bury him before it was day; at which time ſo great a Tempeſt of Wind, and ſuch a loathſome Stench aroſe, that all the Torches were blown out, and the Corps being haſtily thrown into the Grave, was there left, without Tomb, Monument, or Remembrance, of which the Poet thus writes,

And though, from his own Store, Woolſey *might have*
A Palace or a College for his Grave;
Yet here he lies interr'd, as if that all
Of him to be remember'd were his Fall:
Nothing but Earth to Earth, no pompous Weight
Upon him, but a Pebble or a Quait.

One Hiſtorian thus concludes his Story. Thus liv'd and thus died this great Cardinal, who was proud and ambitious, wanton and letcherous, rich and covetous, a liar and a flatterer, a tyrant and mercileſs, forgetful of his beginning, diſdainful in his proſperity, diſpirited and baſe in his adverſity, and wretched in his end; whoſe Death made the King joyful, the Nobles jocund, and the People glad; this happen'd in 1530. Thus died this mighty Prelate, who, though guilty of ſo many horrid Crimes, yet to the laſt Hour pretended much Zeal for the Church, breathing forth Death and Murder againſt the Proteſtants, and charging them

with thoſe Rebellions and Diſturbances which the Clergy only were the cauſe of by their violent Counſels, and their bloody, illegal, and arbitrary Decrees and Practices; inſomuch, that Sir *Richard Baker* in his Chronicle of *England*, writing the Character of King *Henry* VIII. ſays thus: But it will be injurious to charge all the Blood ſpilt in his Reign to his Account. They were all bloody Biſhops that made thoſe bloody Laws, and the bloody Clergy put them in execution, the King oft-times ſcarce knowing what was done; and when he heard of ſome of them, he extremely condemned their barbarous cruelty.



RE-

REMARKS

UPON THE

Life, Actions, *and* Fall,

OF

Thomas Cromwell,

Earl of *Essex*, Favourite to King *Henry* the Eighth.

IN the Life of this great Person we may remark, That those noble Virtues which sometimes advance Men to Honour, are not always Privileges intailed to high Birth and honourable Descent; but that those Men which proceed from mean Families are oftentimes indued with such singular Wisdom, Dexterity,

rity, and Induſtry, that they riſe to Preferment and Authority. We may likewiſe obſerve, That though his predeceſſor *Woolſey* could not bear the great Fortune to which he arrived with any Moderation, but by his Pride became diſtaſteful to all Men, yet our great *Cromwell*, on the contrary, carried an even Sail in all conditions, being neither elated with Proſperity, nor depreſt when fallen from it. Laſtly, We may hence conclude with the Wiſeman, That all Things happen alike to all in this Life, *Woolſey* the greateſt Slave to Vice, and *Cromwell* a perſon of the moſt ſublime Virtue, being both Favourites to the ſame King, both falling into Diſgrace with him, and both expiring by a fatal Fall.

Thomas Cromwell was the Son of a Blackſmith at *Putney* in *Surrey*, to whom may be applied what *Juvenal* ſaid of *Demoſthenes* the famous Orator, who had the ſame Original.

Whom his poor Father, blear-ey'd with the Soot
Of Sparks which from the burning Iron did ſhoot,
From Coals, Tongs, Anvil, and ſuch Blackſmith's Tools,
And dirty Forge, ſent to the Grammar-Schools.

His Father educated him according to his Ability, and though his low Condition was at firſt a great Hindrance to his Promotion; yet ſuch was his Pregnancy of Wit, his ſolid Judgment, his ready Elocution, his indefatigable Diligence, his couragious Heart, and his active Hand, that ſo many Excellencies could not lie long concealed; ſo that though he were without Friends or Money, yet nothing being too difficult for his Wit and Induſtry to compaſs, nor for his Capacity and Memory to retain, he ſoon got into Imployment. For having paſſed over his Youth with the common Diverſions of that State, when he grew toward Man, he had a great Inclination to travel and learn Experience in the World, and thoſe Languages which

which might be ſerviceable to him in the future Courſe of his Life; ſo going to *Antwerp*, he was their retained by the *Engliſh* Merchants for their Secretary.

It happen'd about this time that the People of *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire* thought fit to ſend to *Rome* to renew the Great and Little Pardon which formerly belong'd to a Church in their Town, by which they found much Advantage from thoſe who came to have the Benefit of the Remiſſion of their Sins by them, which were no ſmall number of ſuperſtitious Zealots. And being ſenſible that all things at *Rome* were to be purchas'd only by Money, they ſent one *Geoffry Chambers* with a round Sum upon this notable Errand, who in his Journey coming to *Antwerp*, and much doubting his Ability for managing ſo weighty a Buſineſs, he made a viſit to Mr. *Cromwell*, and giving him an Account of the Affair, was importunate with him to accompany him. *Cromwell* knew very well the Intreagues of the *Roman* court, and the unreaſonable Expences they muſt be at among thoſe ſpiritual cormorants; however, having ſome Knowledge of the *Italian* Tongue, and being not well ſettled in Religion, he was at length prevail'd with to adventure with him. When they arrived at *Rome*, *Cromwell* finding it difficult to get his Pardons diſpatch'd, and unwilling to ſpend much Time or Money, he at length perceiv'd nothing was to be done without making a Preſent of ſome Rarity to the Pope; and hearing he was much delighted with delicate new found Diſhes, he prepared ſeveral fine Diſhes of Jelly, of divers Colours, according to the *Engliſh* Faſhion, which were not as yet known at *Rome*. *Cromwell* obſerving his Time when the Pope was return'd to his Palace from Hunting, he with his *Engliſh* companions approach'd him with their Preſents, which they introduced with ſinging in *Engliſh* the *Three Mens Song*, as it is called. The Pope wondering at the Song, and underſtanding they were *Engliſhmen*, and came not empty handed, ordered them to be called in. *Cromwell*

making low Obeyſance, preſented his jolly Junkets, being ſuch as, he ſaid, none but Kings and Princes in *England* uſed to eat, deſiring his Holineſs to accept of them from him and his Companions, who were poor Suitors at his Court, and had preſented them as Novelties proper only for his Table. Pope *Julius* obſerving the Strangeneſs of the Diſhes, bid a Cardinal taſte them, which he liked ſo well, and the Pope after him, that requiring what their Buſineſs was, and then requiring them to give him an Account how theſe Jellies were made, he without Delay ſealed both the Great and Leſſer Pardon, and diſpatch'd them.

All this while *Cromwell* had no great Senſe of Religion, but was wild, youthful, and without regard to any thing that was ſerious, as he often declared to *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being very diligent (with *Chambers*) in publiſhing the Pardons of *Boſton* in all the Churches as he travelled, and ſerving ſome time under the Duke of *Bourbon* at the Siege of *Rome*. Thus he continued for ſome Years, till at length by learning the New Teſtament of *Eraſmus* by Heart, in his going to and from *Rome*, he began to come to a better Underſtanding. About this Time Cardinal *Woolſey* began to grow great in *England*, ruling all under, or rather over the King, ſo that Perſons of the briskeſt Wits and noted Abilities addreſs'd themſelves to him for Imployments. Among whom *Cromwell* was by him prefer'd to be his chancellor; and at the ſame time Sir *Thomas More* and *Stephen Gardiner* were likewiſe taken into the Cardinal's Family, being all three almoſt of one Age, one ſtanding in Learning, not much unequal in Wit, and their Advancements ariſing from the ſame Foundation, tho' afterward their Studies, Diſpoſitions, and Fortune were greatly different.

The Cardinal deſigning to erect a famous College in *Oxford*, called then *Frideſwide*, now *Chriſt-church*, obtained leave from the Pope to ſuppreſs ſeveral ſmall Monaſteries and Priories in divers Parts of the Realm, and

and to convert the Revenues to his own uſe. He committed the charge of this Buſineſs to *Cromwell*, who uſed ſuch Induſtry and Expedition therein, as was diſpleaſing to ſome great Perſons both of the Nobility and Clergy. But afterward the Cardinal, who had riſen ſuddenly, began to fall as faſt; firſt from his Chancellorſhip, which was beſtowed on Sir *Thomas More*, and then falling into a Premunire, his Family was diſſolved. *Cromwell* being thereby out of Office, endeavour'd to be retain'd in the King's Service; and Sir *Charles Hales*, Maſter of the Rolls, tho' an earneſt Papiſt, yet had ſo great a Kindneſs for him, that he recommended him to the King as a Man fit to be employ'd by him; but *Cromwell* had been ſo miſrepreſented by the popiſh clergy, for his Forwardneſs in defacing their Monaſteries, that the King abhorred the very Name of him. But the Lord *Ruſſel*, Earl of *Bedford*, being preſent (whoſe Life *Cromwell* had ſaved at *Bononia* in *Italy*, where he was ſecretly employ'd in the King's Affairs, and was in great danger to be taken, had he not been ſecur'd by *Cromwell*'s policy) not forgetting his Benefactor, gave him an Account of the whole Matter; and ſince his Majeſty had now to do with the Pope, his great Enemy, he was of opinion there was not a fitter Inſtrument for the King's purpoſe than he, and told him wherein. The King hereupon was willing to ſpeak with him: of which *Cromwell* having private notice, he got in readineſs the Oath which the *Engliſh* Biſhops took to the Pope at their conſecration; and being called in, after paying his Duty to the King, anſwer'd to all Points demanded of him, whereby he made it plainly appear, that his royal Authority was diminiſh'd within his own Kingdom by the Pope and his Clergy, who having ſworn Allegiance to the King, were afterward diſpenſed with for the ſame, and ſworn anew to the Pope, ſo that he was but half King, and they but half Subjects in his own Realm, which was derogatory

rogatory to his Crown, and abſolutely contrary to the common Law of *England*, and that his Majeſty might therefore juſtly make himſelf rich with their forfeited Eſtates, if he pleaſed to take the preſent Opportunity.

The King was very attentive to his Diſcourſe, eſpecially the laſt part of it, and demanded whether he would juſtify what he ſaid; He affirmed he would, producing the Oath they had taken to the Pope, which the King having read, he took his Ring off his Finger, and firſt admitting him into his Service, by the Advice of his Council, ſent him therewith to the Convocation then ſitting. *Cromwell* coming boldly with the King's Signet into the Convocation-Houſe, and placing himſelf among the Biſhops (*Warham* being Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) declared to them the Authority of the King, and the Obedience due from Subjects, eſpecially from Biſhops and Clergymen, to the Laws of the Land, which are neceſſarily provided for the Benefit of the Common-wealth; which Laws, notwithſtanding they had all highly tranſgreſſed, to the great Derogation of the King's Royal Dignity, and thereby brought themſelves into a Premunire, not only in conſenting to the Power Legantine of the late Cardinal *Woolſey*, but alſo by ſwearing to the Pope, contrary to their Allegiance to their Sovereign Lord the King, whereby they had forfeited all their ſpiritual and temporal Eſtates, real and perſonal. The Biſhops were amazed to hear this bold charge, and began to deny it; but *Cromwell* ſhewing them the very copy of their Oath taken to the Pope at their conſecration, made the Matter ſo plain, that they began to ſhrink, and deſired time to adviſe about it. But however, before they could get clear of this Premunire, the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York* were oblig'd by Act of Parliament to pay the King one hundred eighteen thouſand, eight hundred, and forty Pounds.

Cromwell

Cromwell after this came into great Favour with the King, who made him a Knight, Maſter of his Jewel-Houſe, and Privy-counſellor; and ſoon after, Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord Privy-Seal, and Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*; and, laſtly, he was conſtituted Vicegerent in all eccleſiaſtical Affairs, by virtue whereof, both in Parliament and elſewhere, he had the Precedence of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This Authority he uſed upon all Occaſions for the extirpating *Romiſh* Superſtion and Idolatry, to which he was an utter Enemy, and for which there was a fair Occaſion offer'd: For the King being enraged againſt the Pope, for refuſing to annul his Marriage with Queen *Katherine*, tho' he had the Judgment of nineteen Univerſities on his Side, he reſolv'd to have the Matter determin'd by the Clergy of his own Kingdom. And having ſummoned a Convocation, they, after mature Debate, declared the Marriage null and void from the Beginning, and confirm'd the King's ſecond Marriage with Queen *Anne* of *Bullen*, which he had conſummated ſome time before. And a Parliament being called, ſeveral Acts were made againſt the Pope's Supremacy, whereby all Clergymen that ſhould make any Appeal to *Rome*, were declared guilty of a Premunire, and that the King ſhould have Power to viſit, examine, and reform all the Monaſteries and Nunneries of the Kingdom, and ſhould give Licenſes for electing Biſhops to all Vacancies, without the Pope's Conſent or Approbation, and declaring the King ſupream Head on Earth of the Church of *England*. After which a ſtop was put to the Perſecutions of the Proteſtant Miniſters, many of whom were burnt by the Popiſh Clergy, for want of ſtronger Arguments to convince them. The Nobility and Gentry were generally well ſatisfy'd with this change; but the body of the People, who were more under the power of the Prieſts, were by them poſſeſs'd with great Fears of a change of Religion, being told

told that the King had now join'd himſelf with Hereticks, and that Queen *Anne*, *Cranmer*, now Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord *Cromwell* favoured them. For the Monks and Friars ſaw themſelves leſs at the King's Mercy, the Trade of new Saints was now at an End, they had alſo ſome Intimations that *Cromwell* was forming a Project for ſuppreſſing Monaſteries, ſo that in Confeſſions and Diſcourſes they infuſed into the people a diſlike of the King's proceedings, which prevailed ſo far upon them, as they afterward broke out into formidable Rebellions in divers parts of the Kingdom.

Cromwell by his Vicegerency had precedence of all next the Royal Family; and as the King came in the Pope's room, ſo the Vicegerent's Authority was in all points the ſame that the Legates had in the time of popery. The firſt Act of *Cromwell*'s, after his being Vicar-General, was (with a Delegation of the King's Supremacy to him) to viſit all the Monaſteries and Churches in *England*, of which the Biſhops and Abbots were ſo jealous, that of their own accord, before any Law was made about it, they ſwore to maintain the King's Supremacy. However the Viſitation went on throughout *England*, and monſtrous Diſorders were found; as Sodomy, Murders, Tools for falſe Coining, and great Factions and Diviſions in many. The Report that was made contained many other abominable Crimes not fit to be named; whereupon *Cromwell* procured the parliament to paſs an Act, that thirty perſons, ſpiritual and temporal, ſuch as his Majeſty ſhould impower under his Great Seal, ſhould have Authority to make Laws and Ordinances Eccleſiaſtical, which ſhould be obligatory upon all the Subjects of this Realm; and that all religious Houſes, either Monaſteries, Priories, or Nunneries, whoſe Revenues did not exceed 200 *l.* a Year, ſhould be ſuppreſs'd and diſſolv'd, and all their Lands ſettled on the Crown for ever. The Reaſons alledg'd for doing this were, be-

cauſe

cauſe they were erected upon groſs Abuſes, the Foundation of all their Wealth being founded upon the Belief of Purgatory, and of the Virtue that was in Maſſes to eaſe the Torments of departed Souls, and at laſt deliver them out of them; ſo that it paſt for a piece of piety to parents, and of care for their own Souls, to endow thoſe Houſes with Lands, upon condition they ſhould have Maſſes ſaid for them, according to the Value of the Gift, which would have drawn the whole Wealth of the Nation into thoſe Houſes, had not ſome reſtraint been put to that Superſtition. They alſo perſuaded the People, that the Saints interceded for them, and would kindly accept Offerings made at their ſhrines, and the greater they were, the more earneſtly would they uſe their Intereſt for them. The credulous Vulgar meaſuring the Court of Heaven by thoſe on Earth, believ'd that preſents might be very prevalent there, ſo that every new Saint muſt have new Gifts preſented him. Likewiſe ſome Images were believed to have an extraordinary Virtue, and pilgrimages to them were much extoll'd, and there was great contention among the Monaſteries, every one magnifying their own Saint, Images, and Reliques, above others. The Wealth theſe Follies brought in occaſion'd great Corruptions, ſo that the Monks and Friars were very debauch'd and very ignorant. And the begging Friars, under the Appearance of poverty, coarſe diet and clothing, gain'd much Eſteem, and became almoſt the only preachers and confeſſors in the World; but not being able to conceal their Vices, they were now fallen under much Scandal, and a general Diſeſteem, and the King deſigning to create new Biſhopricks, thought it neceſſary to make uſe of ſome of their Revenues, and that the beſt way to bring them into his Hands, would be to expoſe their Vices, that ſo they might quite loſe the Eſteem they yet had with ſome, and it would be the leſs dangerous to ſuppreſs them.

Cromwell was employ'd in this reforming Work, and for removing all Images and ſuperſtitious Pictures out of the Churches; many of the Abbots ſurrender'd their Monaſteries, and in moſt Houſes the Viſitors made the Monks ſign a confeſſion of their Vices and Diſorders, in which they acknowledg'd their Idleneſs, Gluttony, and Senſuality, for which the Pit of Hell was ready to ſwallow them up. Others acknowledg'd, that they were ſenſible that the manner of their former pretended Religion, conſiſting only in ſome dumb ceremonies, whereby they were blindly led, without any Knowledge of God's Laws, and being exempted from the Authority of their own Biſhops, and wholly ſubjecting themſelves to a foreign Power, who took no care to reform their Abuſes, had occaſioned great Diſorders among them; but the moſt perfect Way of Life, revealed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, being now diſcover'd to them, they thought it very fit that they ſhould be governed by the King their ſupream Head, and therefore reſigned their Abbies to him, ſo that in the whole 159 Reſignations were made to the King before the next Parliament, who made an Act for the total Diſſolution of all the Abbies in *England*, the Rents being valued at 132,607 *l.* 6 *s.* 4 *d.* but truly worth above ten times as much.

Theſe proceedings againſt the Pope and Holy Church cauſed the rude, ignorant, and wilful people in *Lincolnſhire* to aſſemble an Army, to the number of 20,000. The King levied a ſtrong Army, and went in perſon to ſuppreſs them, and approaching them, they ſent him an humble petition, that if he would re-eſtabliſh the Monaſteries, and the Pope's Authority, they would freely lay down their Arms, and return to their Duty. The King diſdaining theſe Ruſticks ſhould dictate politicks to him, rejected their petition, ſending them word, that if they did not inſtantly deliver up a hundred of the principal Rebels into his Hands, he would fall upon them, and ſacrifice them all to his Reſentment,

Reſentment. This daring Reſolution ſo daunted this undiſciplined Multitude, that their Leaders expecting each would deliver the other up to the King, they ſecretly deſerted and returned home; But Captain *Cobler*, their chief Commander, otherwiſe called Dr. *Makarel*, and ſome others being taken, were executed according to their Merits; and the common People being left without Officers, made haſte home, and were pardon'd by the King. This was ſucceeded by another Inſurrection in the North, where 40000 got together upon the ſame Pretences, calling themſelves *The Holy Pilgrims, who intended nothing but the eſtabliſhing of the true Religion, and reſtoring the Rights of Holy Church.* The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were order'd to ſuppreſs theſe brainſick Zealots, who ſeem'd very joyful they were to fight, not doubting of Succeſs in this religious War; but the Night before the intended Day of Battle, a little Brook which ran between the Armies, and might have been paſſed over dry-foot, grew ſo broad the next Morning, by a violent Rain which fell, that they could not approach each other, which being reckon'd by both Parties a great Miracle, the Rebels, upon promiſe of Pardon, departed home. In theſe Commotions thoſe Men whoſe Profeſſion was only their Books and their Beads, miſtaking the command of Chriſt, *To ſell their Coats and buy a Sword*, came armed into the Field, and being taken, ſeveral Abbots, Monks and Prieſts were executed.

The Kingdom being again ſettled in Peace, *Cromwell* proceeded in the Work of Reformation; and becauſe the People ſeem'd diſcontented that the Abuſe of theſe Monaſteries ſhould be turn'd to the utter ruin of them, from whence they uſed to have Relief and Alms, therefore *Cromwell* thought fit to make them ſenſible of the Cheats and Tricks which the Prieſts had impoſed upon them. And many Impoſtures about Reliques and wonderful Images, or Roods, were now diſcover'd,

diſcover'd, to which Pilgrimages had been formerly made. As at *Reading*, where they ſhewed the Wing of the Angel that brought over thither the Point of the Spear which pierced our Saviour's Side. And ſo many Pieces of the Croſs were found in ſeveral Abbies, as joined together would have made two large Croſſes. The Rood of Grace at *Boxley* in *Kent*, which had drawn ſo many Pilgrims to it, was brought to St. *Paul*'s Croſs, which by many Springs, uſed to bow down and lift up itſelf, to roll the Eyes, ſhake the Head, Hands, and Feet, move the Lips, ſeem pleaſed or angry, by bending the Brows, which the credulous multitude imputed to a divine Power, but was now made appear to be a Cheat, and the Springs openly ſhewed that governed its ſeveral Motions. Likewiſe the Images of our Lady of *Walſingham* and *Ipſwich*, adorned with rich Jewels, and divers others both in *England* and *Wales*, were remov'd out of the Churches, and being brought to *London*, were openly burnt in the preſence of the Lord *Cromwell* at *Chelſea*. The Blood of Chriſt was ſhewed in a Glaſs Vial at *Hales* in *Glouceſterſhire*, and the Prieſts ſaid it was not viſible to any that were in mortal Sin; ſo that after the People had well paid, it became viſible to them, and the deluded Souls went away well ſatisfy'd that they were now free from any damnable Tranſgreſſion. But this was proved to be the Blood of a Duck renewed every Week, and put into a Glaſs thick on one Side, and thin on the other, ſo that till the Pilgrim had offer'd what the Prieſt thought fit, the dark ſide was turn'd to him, and afterward the light ſide. Several ſuch Impoſtures were diſcover'd, which tended much to undeceive the People. But the richeſt Shrine in *England* was that of St. *Thomas Becket*, that great Rebel to King *Henry* II. and for whoſe Death he ſeverely whipt himſelf a great way to the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, where *Becket* was killed by four of King *Henry*'s officious Servants, and thereupon canoniz'd a Saint,

Saint, to whoſe Altar greater Oblations were made, than to that of our Saviour, or the Virgin *Mary*. Every fiftieth Year there was a Jubilee, and an Indulgence granted to all that came and viſited his Tomb, who were ſometimes thought to be an hundred thouſand on that Occaſion, the prints of their kneeling and Devotion remaining in the Stones to this Day; ſo that it was immenſly rich with Gold, Jewels, Plate, and Money, the Gold only being ſo heavy, that it filled two Cheſts, which required eight Men apiece to carry them out of the Church. The Timber-work of this Shrine was cover'd with Plates of Gold, damask'd and imboſſed with Wires of Gold, garniſh'd with Images, Angels, great Orient Pearls and precious Stones, the chief whereof was a rich Jewel offer'd by *Lewis* VII. of *France*, who came over in Pilgrimage to viſit this Tomb, and to obtain that for the future no Paſſenger ſhould be drowned betwixt *Dover* and *Calais*. It was valued to be the richeſt Jewel in *Europe*. St. *Thomas*'s Skull, which had been ſo much worſhipped, was proved an Impoſture, for the true Skull was with the reſt of his Bones in the Coffin, and were now ſo mix'd with other Bones, that it had been a Miracle indeed to have diſtinguiſh'd them. Then the Axes and Hammers went to work in pulling down the Neſts of Superſtition and Idolatry, whoſe number, as *Cambden* reckons them, were 645 Monaſteries, 90 Colleges, 110 Hoſpitals, and 2374 Chauntries and free Chapels; and their Lands and Revenues being by Act of Parliament ſettled on the Crown, the King, by the Advice of the Lord *Cromwell*, politickly exchanged them for others with his Nobility and Gentry, allowing them good Bargains for their Encouragement, many of whoſe Eſtates do now conſiſt wholly of them, or were greatly inlarged by them, and the Reſtoration of them to their former Uſes was thereby render'd ſo impracticable, that all the flaming Zeal of Q. *Mary* for Popery was never able to effect any

any thing of that kind.——*And this may be thought to have been one ſtrong Barrier and Security of this Nation againſt Popiſh Slavery to this very Day, notwithſtanding the many Attempts that have ſince been made to reduce us back to that Houſe of Bondage.*

The Churches being thus cleanſed from Rubbiſh, the magnanimous Lord *Cromwell* reſolv'd to place better Ornaments in them, and ſent out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to ſet up *Engliſh* Bibles in their Churches, and to encourage all to read them; exhorting the people not to diſpute about the ſenſe of difficult places, but to leave that to better Judgments. Miniſters were commanded to teach the people the Creed, Lord's-prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in *Engliſh*, and that once every Quarter there ſhould be a Sermon to declare the true Goſpel of Chriſt, and to exhort the people to Charity, and not to truſt to other Mens Works, to pilgrimages, or Reliques, or telling their Beads, which was only Superſtition; alſo, that the Folly of offering Candles to Images in divine Worſhip was idolatry and popery, and praying to Saints unneceſſary. Theſe ſtruck at ſome of the main points of popery, but the free Uſe of the Bible gave the moſt deadly Blow of all. Yet all the Clergy ſubmitted without Murmuring.

The Death of Q. *Anne Bullen* (who was beheaded ſome time before for ſeveral pretended Crimes, which ſhe utterly denied at the ſcaffold, and of which moſt thought her innocent) gave freſh hopes to the popiſh Clergy, that a ſtop would have been put to any further Reformation, of which ſhe was reckon'd a great Encourager. The ſucceſſion of the Crown was now alter'd by parliament, by which Q. *Mary* was declar'd illegitimate, as born of Q. *Katherine* in unlawful Marriage, and a new Oath impoſed upon all the people to acknowledge the Children of Q. *Anne* to be rightful Heirs to the Crown, and ſhe leaving one Daughter (who was afterward the renowned Q. *Elizabeth*) that party

party had hopes, that ſhe being dead, the Lady *Mary* would ſubmit her ſelf to the King, and own him as ſupream Head of the Church of *England*, which ſhe had hitherto refuſed. But within twenty Days after this Tragedy was over, the King married the Lady *Jane Seymour*, Daughter of Sir *John Seymour*, by whom he had the moſt excellent Prince *Edward*, who ſucceeded him, though within few Days after the good Queen died. The Birth of a Son blaſted the Papiſts Expectations, and therefore *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and the reſt of that Clergy ſeemed now very zealous in promoting the Injunctions that *Cromwell* had lately publiſhed. Yet *Gardiner* ſtill retaining a ſecret Hatred againſt the Reformation, he by his Artifices and Flatteries prevail'd much with the King, perſuading him that his Zeal againſt Hereſy was the greateſt Advanvantage that his Cauſe in renouncing the Pope could have over all *Europe*. Which meeting with the King's own Perſuaſion of the corporal Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, cauſed him to ſit in Perſon upon the Trial of *John Lambert*, a learned Man, who becauſe he would not recant his Opinion about Tranſubſtantiation, was cruelly burnt in *Smithfield*. And in the next Parliament an Act was made for making it Death not to conſent to the ſix Articles following (which were after called the ſix bloody Articles.) I. That after the Words of Conſecration, the real and natural Body and Blood of Chriſt was in the Sacrament. II. That Communion in both Kinds was not neceſſary to Salvation. III. That Prieſts by the Laws of God ought not to marry. IV. That Vows of Chaſtity are to be obſerved. V. That private Maſſes were agreeable to the Word of God. VI. That Auricular Confeſſion was neceſſary to be retain'd.

Againſt moſt of theſe *Cranmer* argued ſeveral Days; and *Cromwell* promoted *Bonner* to the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, to be a faithful Second to *Cranmer* in his pious Deſigns, though he afterward proved a violent Perſe-

Perſecutor: And indeed *Cranmer* wanted Support againſt the other Biſhops, who were very furious againſt ſome Things not yet aboliſhed. Upon which Letters were writ to the Biſhops, to take care that as the People ſhould be rightly inſtructed, ſo they ſhould not be offended with too many Novelties. Thus was *Cranmer*'s Intereſt ſo low, that he had none but *Cromwell* to depend on. There was not a Queen now in the King's Boſom to ſupport them. The refuſal of owning theſe Articles cauſed the Death of many Proteſtants, as the denying the King's Supremacy cut off ſeveral Papiſts; ſo that at the ſame time Proteſtants were burnt on one ſide of *Smithfield*, and Papiſts hang'd on the other, which made Foreigners admire what Religion King *Henry* was of.

Cromwell now contriv'd how the King ſhould be ingaged in a nearer Alliance with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, with whom he had already made a League, and who was acknowledg'd its patron, he ſending over an hundred thouſand Crowns a year for the Support of it; all ingaging, *That they would join againſt the Pope as the common Enemy, and ſet up the true Religion*. Now, that the King might be prevail'd upon both by Affection and Intereſt to carry on what he had thus began, *Cromwell* reſolved to bring about a Match between the King and the Lady *Anne*, Siſter to the Duke of *Cleve*, whoſe other Siſter *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, a zealous Proteſtant, had eſpouſed. And the King unwilling to live any longer a Widower, both the Emperor and the King of *France* propoſed Matches to him; but Reaſons of State inclined him powerfully to that with the Lady *Anne*. Her Father had before treated with the Prince of *Lorrain* about marrying her, but it went no farther than a Contract between the two Fathers. And the famous Painter *Hans Hoblin* much favour'd her in the Picture which was ſent to the King, who never liked the Original ſo well as he did that. The Duke of *Saxe* diſſuaded the Match, becauſe

cauſe the King was going backward in the Reformation, as appear'd by his enacting the ſix bloody Articles; but *Cromwell* carried it on with the greateſt Vigour. Some write, that the Lady was handſome enough, but could ſpeak only *Dutch*, which the King underſtood not, neither had ſhe learned Muſick, and was alſo ſo ſtiff in her Carriage as no way ſuited the King's Temper. However the Marriage was concluded, and arriving at *Rocheſter*, the King was ſo impatient to ſee her, that he went thither incognito, but was much dampt at firſt ſight; for he thought her Demeanour ſo rude, that he ask'd whether they had brought over a *Flanders* Mare to him, and thence-forward had an abſolute Averſion for her perſon; neither had he any Kindneſs for her Religion, and many Virtues, ſhe being a devout Proteſtant, ſo that he reſolved to break the Match if poſſible; but for fear of diſobliging the *German* princes, his Affairs making their Friendſhip neceſſary to him at this time, to obviate the Deſigns of the Emperor, Pope, and *French* King, now projecting againſt him, he married her, but expreſs'd his Diſlike of her ſo plainly, that all about him took notice of it; and the Day after he told *Cromwell*, that he had not conſummated his Marriage with her, and did believe he ſhould never do it, complaining of ill Smells about her, and he ſuſpected ſhe was not a Virgin, which ſo much increas'd his Diſlike, that he thought he ſhould be never able to endure. *Cromwell* endeavour'd in vain to overcome theſe prejudices, ſo that though the King lived with her five Months, and lay often in Bed with her, yet was his Averſion rather encreaſed.

About this time all the Ground that the Reformation gained after ſo much had been lately loſt, was a Liberty for all private perſons to have Bibles in their Houſes, the managing of which was put into *Cromwell*'s hands by a particular patent. And a new Parliament being called, as the Lord Chancellor declar'd the Mat-

ters

ters of State to them, ſo the Vicegerent *Cromwell* ſpake to them concerning Religion, telling them, *That the King deſired nothing ſo much as an entire Union among all his Subjects, but that ſome Incendiaries oppoſed it as much as he promoted it, and that Raſhneſs on one ſide, and inveterate Superſtition on the other, had raiſed great Diſſentions, which were inflamed by the reproachful Names of Papiſt and Heretick; and though they had now the Word of God in all their Hands, yet they rather ſtudied to juſtify their Paſſions, than amend and govern their Lives by it. To remove which, the King had appointed ſeveral Biſhops to ſettle the Doctrine and Ceremonies, and to publiſh an Expoſition of the Doctrine of Chriſt without corrupt Mixtures, and yet to retain ſuch Ceremonies as ſhould be thought neceſſary, reſolving afterward to puniſh all Tranſgreſſors of either Side.* At this time *Cromwell* was created Earl of *Eſſex*, which ſhews that the King's Diſlike of the Queen was not the chief Cauſe of his Ruin, otherwiſe he had not now advanc'd him.

The popiſh Biſhops, eſpecially *Gardiner*, being glad to be any way rid of a proteſtant Queen, heighten'd the King's Averſion to the Lady *Anne* by all means poſſible, and perſuaded the King to move for a Divorce. The Queen ſeem'd little concern'd at it, and expreſs'd much Willingneſs to diſcharge him from a Marriage ſo unacceptable to him. The Lords addreſs'd to him that he would ſuffer the Marriage to be examin'd, which being granted, a Commiſſion was ſent to the Convocation to diſcuſs it, and Witneſſes being heard, it appeared that her pre-contract with the Prince of *Lorrain* was not fully cleared, and that the King had married her againſt his Will, and not having given an inward and compleat Conſent, he had never conſummated the Marriage, ſo that no Iſſue could be expected from the Queen. Whereupon the Convocation publiſh'd an authentick Inſtrument under the Seals of the two Archbiſhops, declaring to the Chriſtian World, that the King's Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve* was

was a Nullity, void, fruſtrate, and of none Effect, becauſe the ſaid Lady under her own Hand, had, upon Examination, confeſs'd, that the King never had, nor could perform to her that Benevolence, which by a Husband was due to a Wife. This Sentence was confirmed by parliament; adding, that it was lawful for the King to marry another Wife, and for the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve* to take another Husband according to the Laws of Holy Church. And all ſuch as by writing, printing, or ſpeaking did maintain the contrary ſhould be puniſh'd for High Treaſon.

During this Tranſaction a ſudden turn happen'd at Court. The L. *Cromwell* was arreſted for High Treaſon by the Duke of *Norfolk* in the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*, and committed priſoner to the Tower. The Lowneſs of his Birth procured him many Enemies among the Nobility, to ſee a Blackſmith's Son prefer'd to ſuch Dignity; he being at the ſame time Lord Vicegerent, Lord Privy-Seal, and Lord High-Chamberlain of *England*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and Maſter of the Rolls. The Popiſh Clergy hated him mortally, the Suppreſſion of Abbies, and the Injunctions about Reformation in the Church, being imputed to his Counſels; and the King being freed from the Fear of the Confederacy betwixt the Emperor and *French* King againſt him, who could not agree upon the Terms, *Cromwell*'s Counſels now became uſeleſs to him, and he hoped the making him a Sacrifice might ſomewhat appeaſe the People, who were much diſturb'd at ſome late Proceedings. And he now intended a Match with *Katherine Howard*, Neice to the Duke of *Norfolk*, a Papiſt, and an Enemy to the Reformation. The King was likewiſe told, that *Cromwell* was againſt the ſix Articles, and encourag'd thoſe that oppoſed them.

Of the truth of the laſt we read this following paſſage. About two Years before, the King ordered Archbiſhop *Cranmer* to put in writing all the Arguments he had uſed in Parliament againſt the ſix Arti-

cles: He likewiſe ſent *Cromwell* and the Duke of *Norfolk* to dine with him, and aſſure him of the Continuance of his Favour and Kindneſs to him. At Table they acknowledged that *Cranmer* had oppoſed the Articles with much Prudence and Learning, expreſſing a great Value for him, and telling him, that thoſe who differ'd from his Opinion could not but eſteem him highly for his Worth; and ſince the King ſeemed to approve of them, he need fear nothing. *Cromwell* added, That the King had ſo much Reſpect for him above his other Counſellors, that he would not give ear to any Complaints againſt him; and that as Cardinal *Woolſey* loſt his Friends by Pride, the other gain'd upon his Enemies by his Humility and Moderation. The Duke of *Norfolk* replied, he could beſt ſpeak of the Cardinal, having been his Man ſo long. *Cromwell* reply'd warmly, that he never liked his Manners; *But*, ſaid he, *if he had been Pope I never intended to have gone into* Italy *with him, as you, my Lord Duke, deſigned to have done.* The Duke ſwore he lied, and gave him ill Language, which put all the Company into Diſorder, and they were never Friends afterward.

Cranmer drew up his Reaſons againſt the ſix Articles, and gave them to his Secretary to tranſcribe fairly for the King's uſe, but croſſing the *Thames*, met with a very odd Accident: For a Bear being baited near the River, broke looſe, and running into the Water, over-turned the Boat wherein the Secretary was, whereby his Book fell into the *Thames*, and was taken up by the Bearward, who ſhew'd it a Prieſt, who perceiving it was a Refutation of the ſix Articles, told the Bearward that the Author would certainly be hanged. The Secretary coming to demand his Book, which he ſaid was the Archbiſhop's, and offering him a Crown to drink for ſaving it, the Fellow being an obſtinate Papiſt, replied, he would not part with it for 500 Crowns. The Secretary acquainting *Cromwell* with it, he ſent for the Bearward, who gueſſing

gueſſing at the Buſineſs, brought the Book with intent to have deliver'd it to *Stephen Gardiner* or Sir *A. Brown*, both inveterate Enemies to Proteſtancy. *Cromwell* ſeeing him, ſnach'd the Book from him, and giving it to the Secretary, *Here*, ſays he, *I know this is your Hand, take it with you. And, Sirrah*, ſays he to the Fellow, *you deſerve to be puniſh'd for detaining a Privy-counſellor's Book when demanded, you being fitter to meddle with Bears than Matters of State.* And ſo *Cranmer* was preſerv'd from the Danger of Fire, which at this time threaten'd him by Water.

The Blow at *Cromwell* was ſuddenly given, and being in Diſgrace, he had the common Lot of diſcarded Favourites, to be forſaken by his Friends, and inſulted by his Enemies, of whom *Gardiner* was the moſt implacable. Only *Cranmer* ſtuck to him, and in a Letter to the King on his behalf, aſſured him, *He always found the Lord* Cromwell *loved his Majeſty above all things, and that he had ſerved him with ſuch Fidelity and Succeſs, that he was of the Opinion, no King of* England *had ever more faithful Miniſter, wiſhing the King might find a Councellor as willing and able to do him Service as he was.* But the King being freed from his Marriage, and having made *K. Howard* his Queen in a few Weeks after, the D. of *Norfolk* had now an Opportunity to be reveng'd on him, ſhe being Daughter to the Lord *Edmund Howard*, Brother to the Duke; ſo that from henceforth the King look'd diſcontentedly upon his former intimate Favourite and Counſellor, as being told he was the cauſe of all his late Troubles.

Thoſe who had long deſired this Downfal, perceiving this Alteration, drew up a long Bill of Attainder againſt him in the Houſe of Lords, which was read twice in one Day, and ſent to the Commons, who, after ten Days Debate, paſſed it, whereby he was condemn'd for High Treaſon and Hereſy, by that unjuſt way of Attainder, without coming to an Anſwer; wherein it was ſet forth, *That tho' the King had raiſed*

him from a low Eſtate to high Dignities, yet it appear'd by many Witneſſes, who were Perſons of Honour, that he was the moſt corrupt Traitor that ever was known; That joining with the laſt Queen Anne, *he had favoured the* Lutherans *above meaſure, and ſo ſtrongly ſupported them againſt the catholick Prelates and Prieſts of this Kingdom, that when he was told by ſome of the Clergy, that they doubted not but the King would ſoon curb their Preſumption, the* L. Cromwell *replied,* That he was ſure of the King; *and, That about two Years before, he had ſaid, the Preaching of* Barnes *and other Hereticks was good, and that he would not turn though the King did turn, but if the King turned, he would fight in Perſon againſt him and all that turned; and drawing out his Dagger, he wiſh'd he might be pierc'd to the Heart if he did not do it, and that if he lived a Year or two longer, it ſhould not be in the King's Power to hinder it; That he ſet many at liberty who were condemned or ſuſpected of Miſpriſion of Treaſon; That he had given Licences for tranſporting out of the Kingdom things prohibited by Proclamation, had granted Paſports without ſearching, and had diſperſed many erroneous Books contrary to the Belief of the Sacrament, and had ſaid, that every Man might adminiſter it as well as the Prieſt; that he had licenſed ſeveral Preachers ſuſpected of Hereſy, and had diſcharged many committed on that account; That he had many Hereticks about him, and had diſcouraged Informers.* He was likewiſe charg'd *with Bribery and Oppreſſion; and that when he heard ſome Lords were conſulting about him, he threatned he would raiſe great Diſturbances in* England.

Many of theſe things were charg'd upon him in general, but no particulars produced. And the Words about the King being ſworn to have been ſpoken two Years before, it was ſtrange they ſhould be ſo long concealed, conſidering the powerful Adverſaries which he had. As to the Licences, it was thought that he had the King's Order for what he did in it. Bribery and Oppreſſion ſeem to be added only to render him odious,

odious, who always appear'd of a quite contrary Temper; ſo that Authors think the chief Cauſe of the King's Indignation was, that having diſcover'd his Affection for the Lady *Howard* to him, *Cromwell* uſed ſome Words in defence of Queen *Anne* of *Cleve*, and in diſlike of the Lady *Katherine*, which ſo much offended him, that he deliver'd him up into the Hands of his Enemies, who thirſted for his Blood; and fearing he would clear himſelf from all their Calumnies by a legal Tryal, they tried, judg'd, and condemn'd him by a Way which ſeems both againſt Nature, Reaſon, and Juſtice, not being ſuffer'd to appear, or ſpeak a Word in his own Defence.

When he was Priſoner in the Tower, Commiſſioners were ſent to examine him, who found him in a very compoſed Frame, bearing his Affliction with a patient and chriſtian Conſtancy of Mind, not at all ruffled with the Suddenneſs of his Fall, for he foreſaw the Tempeſt before it came, and prepared for the ſame. And being ſenſible of the Vigilance, Power, and Malice of his Adverſaries, he called his Servants before him, and told them, that he found himſelf upon a very uncertain Foundation, and that a Storm was approaching, and therefore charg'd them to manage all their Affairs with Uprightneſs and Juſtice, that ſo he might not ſuffer by any Miſdemeanours of theirs. He entertain'd the Commiſſioners with much Gravity and Freedom, and anſwer'd all their Interrogatories with great Moderation and Diſcretion, being as well inform'd in all Matters, eccleſiaſtical or civil, as themſelves. He once deſired one of theſe Commiſſioners, ſuppoſed to be *Gardiner*, to carry a Letter from him to the King, who replied, he would carry no Letter to the King from a Traitor. Then, ſaid the Lord *Cromwell*, pray deliver a Meſſage to him by word of Mouth. This he conſented to, provided it were not againſt his Allegiance. *Well, my Lords*, ſaid he to the reſt, *pray be Witneſſes of what this Lord has promiſed. Pray then*

preſent my Duty to the King, and tell him, That when he hath tried and proved you ſo throughly as I have done, he will find you the falſeſt Man that ever he had about him. Before this he writ a Letter to the King, which none durſt undertake to deliver; but Mr. *Sadler*, his old Friend, willing to do him a Kindneſs, firſt went to underſtand the King's pleaſure whether he would permit him to do it, which the King granting, he preſented the Letter, who commanded him to read it thrice over, ſeeming much affected with it. And ſome write, that after his Death, the King being in great Exigence, and not knowing whom to truſt, or with whom to adviſe, he much lamented his Death, ſaying, *O that I had but my* Cromwell *again.* But the Act of Parliament being paſſed, he could not conveniently diſpenſe with it, and his Enemies being ſo many and mighty, was obliged to take him off. So that on *July* 28. 1541. he was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where he ſpake thus to the Multitude that ſurrounded him.

I AM come hither to die, and not to clear myſelf, as ſome peradventure may think I will. I am condemn'd by the Law to die, and thank my Lord God, that hath appointed me this Death for mine Offences; for ſince the time that I came to Years of Diſcretion, I have lived a Sinner, and have offended my Lord God, for which I heartily ask him Forgiveneſs. It is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great Traveller in the World, and being of mean Degree, was called to an high Eſtate, and ſince I came thereto, I have offended my Prince, for which I ask him heartily Forgiveneſs, and beſeech you all to pray to God to forgive me. And now I pray you all to bear me record, that I die in the catholick Faith, not doubting in any Article of my Faith, nor in any Sacrament of the church. Many have ſlander'd me, and reported that I have been a Hearer of ſuch as have maintained evil Opinions, which is untrue. But I confeſs, that as God by his Holy

Holy Spirit doth inſtruct us in the Truth, ſo the Devil is ready to ſeduce us, and I have been ſeduced; but bear me Witneſs, that I die in the catholick Faith of the holy church, and I heartily deſire you to pray for the King's Grace, that he may long live with you in Health and Proſperity, and that after him his Son Prince Edward, *that goodly Branch, may long reign over you. And once again I deſire you to pray for me, that ſo long as Life remaineth in this Fleſh, I may never waver in my Faith.*

Then kneeling down on the Scaffold, he prayed thus:

O Lord Jeſus, who art the only Health of all Men living, and the everlaſting Life of them which die in thee, I wretched Sinner ſubmit myſelf wholly to thy moſt bleſſed Will: And being ſure that the thing cannot periſh which is committed to thy Mercy, I now willingly leave this frail and wicked Fleſh, in ſure hope that thou wilt in better-wiſe reſtore it to me again at the laſt Day in the Reſurrection of the Juſt. I beſeech thee, moſt merciful Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that thou wilt by thy Grace ſtrengthen my Soul againſt all Temptations, and defend me with the Buckler of thy Mercy againſt all the Aſſaults of the Devil. I acknowledge, that there is in myſelf no Hope of Salvation, but all my confidence, hope, and truſt is in thy moſt merciful Goodneſs. I have no Merits nor good Works that I may alledge before thee. Of Sins and evil Works, alas, I ſee a great Heap: But yet, through thy Mercy, I truſt to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their Sins, but will take and accept me for righteous and juſt, to be an Inheritor of everlaſting Life. Thou, merciful Lord, wert born for my ſake; thou didſt ſuffer both Hunger and Thirſt for my ſake; all thy holy Acts and Works thou wroughteſt for my ſake: Finally, thou gaveſt thy moſt precious Body and Blood to ſuffer on the Croſs for my ſake. Now, moſt merciful Saviour, let all theſe things profit me, who haſt given thyſelf for me.

Let thy Blood cleanſe and waſh away the Spots and Foulneſs of my Sins. Let thy Righteouſneſs hide and cover my Unrighteouſneſs. Let the Merits of thy Paſſion and Blood make Satisfaction for my Sins. Give me, O Lord, thy Grace, that the Faith of my Salvation in thy Blood waver not in me, but may be firm and conſtant, that the Hope of thy Mercy and everlaſting Life in me may not decay, nor thy Love wax cold in me. Finally, that the Weakneſs of my Fleſh be not overcome with the Fear of Death. Grant, O merciful Saviour, that when Death hath ſhut up the Eyes of my Body, yet the Eyes of my Soul may ſtill behold and look upon thee, and when Death hath taken away the Uſe of my Tongue, yet my Heart may cry and ſay unto thee, Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Soul, Lord Jeſus, receive my Spirit. Amen.

After this he laid down his Head on the Block, which was cut off at three or four Strokes by an unskilful and butcherly Executioner. Thus fell this magnanimous Worthy, who roſe only by the Strength of his natural Parts, for his Education was ſuitable to his mean Extraction. He carried his Greatneſs with extraordinary Moderation; and his Zeal for the Reformation created him many powerful Adverſaries, who continually ſought for Matter againſt him, till in the end by Lies, Falſhood, and Flattery, they had thrown him out of the King's Favour. He mixed none of the Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome* in his Devotions at his Death, and uſed the Word Catholick Faith, to expreſs the antient Apoſtolick Doctrines of Chriſt, in oppoſition to Popiſh Novelties. With him fell the Office of Vicegerent, and none ſince ever had that Character. The Miſeries which befel the new Queen *Katherine*, and the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Family, were thought to be the Judgments of Heaven upon them for their cruel proſecuting this Unfortunate Favourite. The Queen being in a few Months beheaded for her former lewd Life, together

with

with the Lady *Rochford* her Bawd (as the Act of Parliament called her) who had been very inſtrumental in the Ruin of Queen *Anne Bullen*, and of her own Huſband the Lord *Rochford*; and being now diſcover'd to be ſo vile a Woman, it tended much to raiſe both their Reputations again. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surry*, were both condemned for High Treaſon a few Years after, and the Son was beheaded, the Father eſcaping by the Death of King *Henry*.

To conclude, the L. *Cromwell* had ſeveral eminent Virtues ſo conſpicuous in him, that they ought not to be concealed. His Gratitude eminently appeared toword one *Freſcobald*, an *Italian* Merchant, who had relieved him in his Neceſſities in that Country, which he rewarded with ſo exceſſive a Generoſity, as ſeveral eminent Pens have ſtrove who ſhould moſt celebrate the ſame, and of which I have given a particular Relation, in a Book call'd *Unparallel'd Varieties*; *or, the tranſcendent Effects of Gratitude*, &c. of the like Value with this. His Charity was very apparent, in that foreſeeing himſelf declining in the King's Favour, he like a kind and loving Maſter provided beforehand for almoſt all his Servants, and gave twelve Children of his Muſick twenty pound a-piece; and deliver'd many out of danger of having broken Popiſh Conſtitutions. His Humility was eminent in ſeveral Inſtances, particularly, that he and Archbiſhop *Cranmer* riding once in State through *Cheapſide*, *Cromwell* ſeeing a poor Woman to whom he formerly owed Money, called her to him, and bid her go to his Houſe, where he not only diſcharg'd the Debt, but ſettled a Penſion of four pound a year upon her during Life. At another time obſerving a poor Man at the Court ſweeping the Cloiſters, and ringing the Chapel-Bell, he in the Company of ſeveral Lords, called him by his Name, and and ſaid, This poor Man's Father was a great Friend to me, having given me many a Meal's Meat in my Neceſſity, therefore I am reſolved to provide

for him as long as I live, which he did accordingly. His Wiſdom and Policy in State Affairs was very obvious in the Management of all Treaties and Negotiations, both at home and abroad, with the utmoſt Prudence, Dexterity, and Succeſs. Laſtly, and principally, his fervent Zeal for the true Religion was ſufficiently diſcover'd by the Injunctions, Proclamations, and Articles, publiſh'd by his Advice, for promoting the ſame. In a word, many Ages before and ſince have not been bleſt with two ſuch excellent Perſons as the Lord *Cromwell* and Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, who both flouriſh'd together at this Time.

Queen

Queen Elizabeth.



Remarks on the Life, Actions, and Fall of Robert Devereux, *Earl of* Eſſex, *Favourite to Queen* Elizabeth.

BY the Fall of this great Man we may obſerve, That the Love of a People may be of no leſs dangerous conſequence to a Subject than their Hatred; nor is the Affection of a Prince to a Favourite to be much relied on, ſince their Love is often inconſtant, and their Anger deadly. Of both which we can ſcarce find a more pregnant Inſtance, than in this eminent Favourite.

Robert

Robert Devereux was born in 156. and was not above ten Years of Age when his Father, *Walter* Earl of *Essex*, and Earl Marshal of *Ireland*, deceased at *Dublin*, pre-admonishing his Son never to forget the 36th Year of his Age, as the utmost Term of Life, which neither himself nor his Father before him survived, and which his Son never attain'd to. After his Father's Death he was under the Tuition of the pious and learned Dr. *Whitgift*, and at sixteen Years perform'd his publick Acts as Master of Arts. His first Advancement at Court was procur'd by the Earl of *Leicester*, his Father-in-Law, and was thought to be design'd not so much out of Love to him, as Envy against Sir *Walter Rawleigh*. His Descent was honourable, his Title being deriv'd from *Evereux*, a City in *Normandy*. His Title of Lord came by Marriage with *Cicely*, the Daughter of *W. Bourchier*, whose Grandmother was Sister to K. *Edward* IV. whose Great Grandmother was Daughter to *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, Son of K. *Edward* III. born of one of the Daughters of *Humphrey Bohun*, Earl of *Hertford* and *Essex*, whereupon the Title of Viscount *Hertford* was bestow'd upon his Great Grandfather *Walter*, by King *Edward* VI. and that of Earl of *Essex* upon his Father, by Q. *Elizabeth*; so that this high Birth might fill him with some ambitious Thoughts. He was with much ado made Master of the Horse, the Queen being displeased with his Mother; but when by his Observance he had procured her Favour, she forgave a great Debt that his Father ow'd her, and made him a Knight of the Garter, and a Privy-Counsellor, when he was scarce 23 Years old. His first Appearance in Action was at *Tilbury* Camp in 1588. being made by the Queen General of the Horse, to whom in sight of the Soldiery and People she discovered a more than ordinary Kindness.

And now Queen *Elizabeth*, to follow the Blow she had given the *Spanish Armado*, the next Year sends Sir *F. Drake*, and Sir *J. Norris*, with a Fleet and some Forces

Forces to the Aid of Don *Antonio*, who pretended a Right to the Crown of *Portugal*; but *Philip* II. of *Spain* being both ambitious and powerful, ſent the Duke of *Alva* with an Army thither, who drove this new King out of his Country, and after many Skirmiſhes, wholly poſſeſs'd himſelf of that Kingdom for his Maſter. The *Engliſh* Forces landed near the *Groin* in *Galicia*, and took the lower Town. During this Voyage the Earl of *Eſſex*, unwilling to be idle when Honour was to be gotten, went privately to Sea without the Queen's Knowledge or Conſent, and joined the Fleet; at which ſhe was much diſturb'd, ſaying, *This young Fellow is ſo ventrous, that he will certainly be knock'd on the head one time or other.* The *Engliſh* likewiſe approach'd *Lisbon*, took the Caſtle of *Caſcay*, and burnt the Town of *Vigo*; but finding that the *Portugueſe* did not declare for Don *Antonio*, as he expected, Sickneſs likewiſe encreaſing among the Soldiers, the Fleet returned home.

After this the Popiſh Princes of *France* entring into a League that they would have no Proteſtant reign over them, raiſed an Army againſt the King of *Navarre*, their rightful Sovereign, who craving Aid of the Queen, ſhe readily aſſiſted him with Money and Men under the Earl of *Eſſex*, who gave ſufficient Proof of his Valour upon all Occaſions, his Brother *Walter* being ſlain before the Walls of *Roan*. Upon which the Earl challenged *Villars*, the Governour of the City, to a ſingle Combat, which he durſt not accept. The Earl a while after returned to *England*, being informed by his Friends that many envious Courtiers were contriving to throw him out of the Queen's Favour.

In 1595, Archduke *Albert*, Governour of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* for the King of *Spain*, ſuddenly beſieged *Cales*, and took it, the News whereof ſo ſurprized the Queen, becauſe of the near Neighbourhood of this potent Enemy, that to divert the Tempeſt from *England*, ſhe and the States of *Holland* inſtantly ſet out a Navy

Navy of 140 Ships, wherein were imbark'd about 7000 Soldiers, and as many Seamen, commanded in chief by the Earl of *Eſſex* and *Charles Howard*, joint Admirals, with ſeveral other inferior Commanders of great Conduct, who ſailing to *Cales*, in a ſhort time took both the Town and Caſtle, no Man of Note being loſt in this Expedition but Capt. *Wingfield*; and having ranſack'd the Town and Iſland whereon it is built, demoliſh'd the Forts, burnt moſt of the Houſes, filled their Ships with Plunder, and burnt ſeveral *Spaniſh* Veſſels, the Fleet returned victoriouſly home; the King of *Spain* having loſt in this gallant Expedition 13 of his beſt Men of War, 40 Merchants Ships from *New Spain*, 100 Cannon, with ſuch vaſt ſtores of Ammunition and naval Proviſions, ſo that he was not able to fit out another Fleet for many Years after; and the *Spaniards* themſelves gave this Character of the *Engliſh*, *That they were Hereticks in Religion, but in all other Affairs warlike, politick, and truly noble.* This happy Succeſs advanced *Eſſex* in the Opinion both of the Queen, Soldiery, and common People, though his making ſo many Knights, ſome of them of very mean Fortunes, produc'd this Libel;

A Gentleman of Wales, *with a Knight of* Cales,
And a Laird of the North Country;
A Yeoman of Kent, *upon a rack Rent*,
Will buy them out all three.

The Queen's Indulgence increaſing by this fortunate Expedition, he grew wanton with her Favours, and was offended if ſhe prefer'd any but thoſe recommended by himſelf; as particularly Sir *F. Vere* being made Governour of the *Brill* in *Holland*, and Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary of ſtate, both which he had deſigned for other Perſons, he diſcovered ſuch a Reſentment for it, that his Enemies and Enviers turned to his Diſadvantage. *Eſſex* is now made Admiral of a Fleet ſent againſt

againſt the Iſlands of *Azores* belonging to the *Spaniard*, where the Iſlands of *Gracioſa* and *Faial* yielded to him; and returning, he who would be ſole Favourite, had great Contentions with Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, *Cecil*, &c. and likewiſe with *Charles Howard*, who was now made Earl of *Nottingham* for his Valour at *Cales*; yet the Queen's Affections ſo blinded her, that ſhe paſſed by many Indignities offer'd her by *Eſſex*, and to pacify him, created him Earl Marſhal of *England*.

In 1598, ſome Propoſals being offer'd for a Peace with *Spain*, the Earl of *Eſſex* oppos'd it, urging the *Spaniſh* King's Ambition for gaining the univerſal Monarchy, his inveterate Hatred againſt the Queen and the Kingdom, his Maxim, that no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks, and that the Pope could diſpenſe with him to break all Leagues when for his Advantage; ſo that theſe and many ſuch cogent Reaſons made a Peace with him impracticable. But other great Courtiers, whether for Reaſons of State, or that they had receiv'd ſome *Spaniſh* Gold, were much diſpleaſed: And the Lord *Burleigh* told him, That he breathed nothing but War and Slaughter; and turning to the *Pſalms*, he bid *Eſſex* read that Verſe, as ſeeming to preſage his future Fate, *Blood thirſty Men ſhall not live out half their Days*. Yet many much admired his Conduct, as really deſigning nothing but the Honour and Security of his Country. However, the Queen and *Eſſex* were of a contrary Opinion, both as to the Peace, and about a fit Perſon to be ſent Lord Deputy into *Ireland*. The Queen judg'd *W. Knolles*, the Earl's Uncle, proper for the Imployment; *Eſſex* affirm'd *George Carew* to be much fitter, and becauſe he could not perſuade the Queen to be of his mind, he contemptibly turn'd his Back and ſeem'd to ſcoff at her. At which ſhe growing out of patience, ſtept forward, and giving him a ſound Box on the Ear, bid him be gon with a Vengeance. Whereupon he laid his Hand upon his Sword; but

the

the Admiral coming up to him, he vow'd and ſwore, *That he neither would nor could not put up ſo great an Indignity, which he would never have taken from her Father King* Henry, *much leſs from the Hand of a Woman*; and then in a great rage he withdrew from Court. The Lord Keeper ſent him ſeveral Letters, exhorting him to come and ask the Queen pardon, whom if he had juſtly wrong'd, he could not but make her Satisfaction, and if ſhe had wrong'd him, yet his Prudence, Duty, and Religion ſhould oblige him to ſubmit himſelf to ſo good a Queen, ſince there is a great Inequality between a Prince and a Subject. *Eſſex* anſwered very haughtily to theſe Advices, and his Followers publiſhed his uſual Expreſſions upon this Account: As, *That he appeal'd for Juſtice from the Queen to God Almighty: That no Tempeſt rageth more than the Indignation of an impotent Prince: That the Queen's Heart was harden'd. I know*, ſaid he, *what I have to do as I am a Subject, but as I am Earl, and Marſhal of* England, *I cannot live as a Servant and Bondſlave. If I ſhould confeſs myſelf guilty, I ſhould both injure Truth, and God the Author of Truth. I have received a Dart through my whole Body. It is abſolutely a Sin to ſerve, after having receiv'd ſo great a Diſgrace. Cannot Princes err? Cannot they injure their Subjects? Is their earthly Power infinite? 'Tis the Fool*, ſays Solomon, *that being ſtruck, laughs. They that receive Benefit by the Errors of Princes, let them bear the Injuries of Princes. Let them that believe the Queen's Power infinite, believe that God is not omnipotent. As for my Part, I being rent in pieces by Injuries, have long enough endur'd Bitterneſs of Soul for them.*

Yet after all, the Queen's Paſſion for him ſoon admitted of an eaſy Submiſſion; ſo that he was pardon'd and reſtor'd to Favour by her, who could be angry with him, but could never hate him, and ſoon after made him Lord Deputy of *Ireland* (which was then in an ill Condition by the Rebellion of the Natives) and empower'd him with ſo ample a Commiſ-

ſion

ſion as was thought to be contrived by his Enemies, on purpoſe, by inflaming his Ambition, to procure his Ruin, for he had liberty to pardon or puniſh the *Iriſh* Rebels ſuitable to his own Will, and to reward with Lands or Honours all he eſteem'd worthy. Theſe were ſuch Flowers of the Crown, as if deſign'd by his Enemies to deck that Head they meant to ſacrifice to their Malice and Revenge. Upon his Arrival in *Ireland*, the Earl ſpent ſo much time in ſubduing the petty Rebels, while he neglected *Tyrone*, the Chief, with whom inſtead of fighting, he treated, and made a Truce, that the Queen unſatisfy'd with his dilatory Proceedings, firſt reproach'd his Conduct, and then recalled him. *Eſſex* was much diſcontented, becauſe the Queen in her Letters had chid him for making the Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horſe; and that *Cecil* his Enemy was prefer'd to be Maſter of the Wards in his Abſence. So that a Month after he unexpectedly return'd to *England*, having ſome Thoughts to bring ſo great a Force with him as to ſecure himſelf from any Danger, but was diſſuaded therefrom by the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *Chriſt. Blunt*; ſo that only accompanied with ſix, he comes to the Court of *Nonſuch*, to inform the Queen of the Affairs of *Ireland*. In the way he met the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, his chief Adverſary, whom one of his Attendants offer'd to kill, to prevent him from doing further Miſchief, but the Earl declaring his Abhorrence of ſuch Wickedneſs, haſted to Court, and fell upon his Knees before the Queen, who had not the leaſt Notice of his Arrival. She entertain'd him with a ſhort ſpeech, but not with her wonted Kindneſs, commanding him to go to her Chamber till ſhe heard him farther, and afterward committed him to the Cuſtody of the Lord Keeper. The Earl endeavour'd to vindicate himſelf from all the Aſperſions charg'd upon him; and among other Expreſſions, *Can I*, ſays he, *be ſuſpected to have any ill Deſign upon mine Enemies, who only came with ſix to*

court;

court; but I abhor Revenge, knowing who hath ſaid, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it. *Shall my Return be ſuſpected, who have worn out my Body, waſted my Fortunes, and lain a Suppliant at my Prince's Feet? Shall I be ſuſpected, who have loſt my Father and my Brother in the Service of my Country? who for thirteen Years have ſerved the Queen, and for ſeven have been of her Privy-Council? who for her ſake have been hated by all that are Enemies to her or her Religion? who out of Duty to her have ſo expoſed myſelf to their Malice, that no Country but this, nor no Perſon but herſelf, can ſecure me from falling by their bloody Machinations?*

However his Enemies proceeded to arraign his ill Management of Affairs in *Ireland*, in which *Cecil* inlarg'd himſelf with much Elocution. The Earl in Cuſtody of the Lord-Keeper, ſeem'd wholly devoted to pious Meditations, and to have renounced all worldly Concernments with a religious Contempt, in ſeveral Letters to his Friends. And ſent ſuch ſubmiſſive Letters to the Queen, that after ſix Months Confinement, ſhe admitted him to continue at his own Houſe under the Inſpection of *R. Berkley*, proteſting ſhe did not deſign his Ruin, but Amendment. But the People, who entirely loved him, thinking he had received much Wrong, the Queen thought it neceſſary he ſhould have his Cauſe heard before four Earls, two Lords, and four Judges, who having charged him with ſeveral Miſdemeanors, and hearing his Defence, they ſentenc'd him to be degraded from being a Privy-Counſellor, ſuſpended him from his Offices of Earl Marſhal and Maſter of the Ordinance, and to remain in Cuſtody during the Queen's Pleaſure. But ſtill the People had Hopes of his Liberty and Reſtoration, becauſe of the extream Favour the Queen had for him, who expreſsly commanded the Commiſſioners not to deprive him of being Maſter of the Horſe, as if ſhe intended again to uſe his Service. The Earl ſtill expreſs'd great Humility of Mind, declaring both by Words

Words and Letters, That he had taken leave of the World, had waſh'd away with his Tears the Heat of Ambition formerly in his Heart, and that he deſired nothing more but that her Majeſty would let her Servant depart in Peace. The Queen was ſo delighted to hear of theſe Expreſſions, that ſhe inſtantly diſcharg'd him from all Confinement, ſending him word, That he was now his own Man, and admoniſhing him to make his own Diſcretion his Keeper, but not to come near her Perſon or Court. The Earl return'd Anſwer, That he humbly kiſs'd the Hand and Rod of the Queen, which had only corrected, but not overthrown him; but that he was ſure he ſhould never live a happy Day till he ſaw thoſe bleſſed Eyes of hers which had hitherto been his Stars whereby he had ſail'd on happily, and had kept on in a direct Courſe; That now he reſolved to repent in earneſt, and ſay with *Nebuchadnezzar*, my Habitation ſhall be amongſt the Beaſts of the Field, that I may eat Hay like an Oxe, and be water'd with the Dew of Heaven, till ſuch time as it ſhall pleaſe the Queen to reſtore me to my Senſes again.

The Queen was extream glad when ſhe was told of it, and ſaid, I wiſh his Deeds and Words would agree, he hath long tried my Patience, and I have pretty well tried his Humility. Sure I am, my Father would never have borne with his Perverſeneſs, but I will not look back, leaſt, like *Lot*'s Wife, I be turned into a Pillar of Salt. All is not Gold that gliſters. And ſo it happen'd; for the Earl had ſo far regain'd her Favour, as to preſume to beg the gainful Farm of the ſweet Wines; but the Queen told him ſhe would firſt know what it was worth, and that ſuch Kindneſſes are not to be beſtowed blindfold; That they who intend to tame a wild Horſe, muſt keep him without Food; That the more a diſeaſed Body is fed, the more hurt it does. The Earl being extreamly diſcontented at her Anſwer, and that ſhe had beſtow'd the Farm upon

upon others, began to hearken to the Inſinuations of one *Henry Cuffe*, Sir *C. Blunt*, and *Merrick* his Steward, who charg'd him with Puſilanimity for making ſuch mean Submiſſions, telling him that the Queen, the Council, and his cruel Enemies, had conſpir'd to make him a Beggar, ſo that he muſt hereafter live on the Almsbasket, and the Crumbs that fell from their Tables; That being poor, neglected of the Queen, and forſaken of his Friends, he might become a Scorn to his triumphant Adverſaries, and adviſed him that the only Remedy againſt all theſe Diſaſters was to make his own way to the Queen, he having many of the Nobility, Gentry, and common People that would ſtand by him and his Cauſe. Theſe Suggeſtions pierced his Soul daily, ſo that at length he gave himſelf up wholly to their Direction, and entertain'd great numbers of Soldiers, and other diſcontented and indigent People, keeping open Houſe, to which there was much reſort. Of which the Queen having notice, ſent the Lord Keeper and others to know the Meaning of it, who coming thither, found the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Rutland*, and *Southampton*, among a confuſed number of People in the Yard. The Lord Keeper told the Earl, That the Queen deſired to know the Deſign of this Concourſe, promiſing that if any Injury had been done him, he ſhould be righted both in Law and Equity. The Earl anſwered aloud, That wait had been laid for his Life, and that ſome had been hired to murder him in his Bed; That he had been traiterouſly dealt with, and that his Letters had been counterfeited both with his Hand and Seal: That they were therefore met together to defend themſelves, and to preſerve their Lives, ſince neither his Patience nor his Miſeries would appeaſe the Malice of his Adverſaries, unleſs they drank his Blood alſo.

The Lord Keeper then deſired him to give an account of his particular Grievances; but the Multitude cried out, *Let us be gone, come they abuſe your Patience*;

Patience; *they betray you, my Lord*; *kill them, kill them*; *away with the Great Seal*; *come away, make haſte.* The Lord Keeper and the other Lords of the Council going into the Houſe with *Eſſex*, the People cried, *Shut them up cloſe, keep them faſt.* Whereupon the Earl bolted them into the Room, ſaying, *Be patient but a little, my Lords, I muſt needs go to the City to take order with my Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, and I will return inſtantly.* The Lords being thus made Priſoners, the Earl iſſued forth with about 200 Followers without Order, among whom were the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Cromwell*, and ſome other of the Nobility, and coming into *London*, *Eſſex* cries out continually, *For the Queen, for the Queen, there is wait laid for my Life*, exhorting the Citizens to take Arms and join with him. But notwithſtanding their pretended Kindneſs, not a Man appeared for him. Soon after he was proclaim'd Traitor, and the Earl of *Nottingham* marched with all ſpeed againſt him; which ſo diſcourag'd him, that caſting away all Hopes of Succeſs, he thought of returning home, and making his Peace with the Lords which he had in his Cuſtody, but found his Way chain'd up at the Weſt End of St. *Paul's*; whereupon he drew his ſword to have forc'd his Paſſage, but had three of his Aſſociates ſlain, beſides two Citizens, and his own Hat ſhot through; ſo that making haſte to *Queenhithe*, he there got a Boat, wherein he return'd to his own Houſe, where he was ſoon beſieg'd both by Water and Land, and was adviſ'd by the Lord *Sands* to iſſue out upon his Enemies, telling him the moſt valiant Counſels were the moſt ſafe, and that it was far more honourable to die fighting with Noblemen, than by the Hand of an Hangman. But *Eſſex's* Fate being as inconſtant as his Fortune, he at length yields to the Admiral, and ſoon after he is brought to a Trial for High Treaſon with the Earl of *Southampton*, where they made the beſt defence they could, but at length were both condemned; the Lord Chief Juſtice

Coke

Coke concluding his Sentence with this bitter Sarcaſm againſt *Eſſex*, *That it were to be wiſh'd that this* Robert *ſhould be the laſt of the Name of Earl of* Eſſex, *who affected to be* Robert *the firſt of that Name, King of* England.

February 25. 1601. was the Day appointed for his Death, on a ſcaffold upon the Green within the *Tower*, where ſate ſeveral Lords and Aldermen of *London*. The Earl mounting the Scaffold, uncover'd his Head, and lifting his Eyes to Heaven, confeſs'd the many and grievous Sins of his Youth, and eſpecially the laſt, which he ſaid was a bloody, crying, and contagious Sin, for which he ask'd God and the Queen Forgiveneſs, proteſting he never had any ill deſign againſt her Perſon, wiſhing her long Life and a happy Reign. He thanked God that he was neither Atheiſt nor Papiſt, but put all his Truſt and Hopes in the Merits of Chriſt, beſeeching God to ſtrengthen him againſt the Fears of Death. Then he forgave the Executioner, and fitted his Neck to the Block, entreating the Spectators to join in a ſhort but fervent Prayer and Ejaculation to God. He then repeated the Creed, and the five firſt Verſes of the 51ſt *Pſalm*, adding, *Lord, I ſubmit humbly and obediently to my deſerved Puniſhment. Thou, O Lord, have Mercy upon thy Servant, that is caſt down. Into thy Hands, O Lord, I commit my Spirit.* So laying down his Head, it was ſtricken off at the third Blow, but the firſt took away all Senſe and Motion. Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, his great Enemy, was preſent, wh many thought very unbecoming him. King *Henry* IV. of *France*, and Marſhal *Byron* his prime Favourite, hearing the Chriſtian manner of his Death, ſcoft at him, ſaying, *He died more like a Parſon than a Soldier.* But this very *Byron* was ſoon after beheaded by this very King for Treaſon, raving at his Death againſt his Maſter, and dying more like a Madman than a Chriſtian. And King *Henry* having renounced the Proteſtant Religion, was ſtabb'd to death in his Coach by a bloody Villain,

Villain, without having hardly time to ſay, *Lord, have Mercy upon him.*

Thus was this noble Earl ſnatch'd out of the Arms of his Miſtreſs, and torn from the Heart of the People that doted on him, and by the Subtilty of his Enemies brought to an untimely end in the ſight of them both, who were quiet Spectators of his Ruin in the 34th Year of his Age. The Tears of her Subjects for his Loſs, and the little Kindneſs they diſcover'd afterward for her for ſigning the Warrant for his Death, together with her own Paſſion for him, caſt the Queen into a deep Melancholy, which was much augmented by the following Paſſage. When *Eſſex* was in greateſt Favour with her, which was on his return from *Cales*, he importun'd her to give him ſome Token of her Affection that might renew her Favour to him, if at any time his Enemies ſhould miſrepreſent him. Whereupon in much Familiarity ſhe gave him a Ring, which ſhe vow'd and ſwore ſhould free him from all Danger upon his ſending it to her, even in the greateſt Diſtreſs. After his Commitment to the Tower, he ſent this worthy Token to her Majeſty by the Counteſs of *Nottingham*, but Sir *Robert Cecil* would not ſuffer her to deliver it. This made the Queen think herſelf ſcorn'd, and that what his Enemies had reported he ſhould ſay, was true, *That ſhe grew old and doted, and that her Mind was now grown as crooked as her Body*; which ſhe thought to be Blaſphemy againſt ſuch a divine Beauty as her Flatterers perſuaded her ſhe was. But the Lady *Nottingham* being on her Death-bed, and finding (by the daily Sorrow the Queen expreſs'd for the loſs of *Eſſex*) that ſhe was the principal Agent in his Deſtruction, could not be at reſt till ſhe had ſent for her and diſcover'd all, imploring Mercy from God, and Forgiveneſs from her earthly Sovereign. The Relation of which ſo enrag'd the Queen, that ſhaking her as ſhe lay in her Bed, ſhe ſaid ſhe would never forgive her, and ſent her with moſt fearful Curſes to the Judgment-

Judgment-ſeat of God. Not long after, the Queen's Sickneſs appeared mortal: For having thus unfortunately cut off her endeared Favourite, ſhe took Comfort in nothing beſides; but upon all Occaſions of ſigning Pardons, would ſay to her Courtiers, *You can beg Pardons for theſe Wretches, but would never ſpeak a Word for the gallant* Eſſex, *whoſe Loſs to my ſelf and the Nation can never be recover'd.* Some thought *Eſſex* would have diſcover'd ſome ſecret Commerce between the Queen and himſelf at his Death, but others were of opinion, that nothing criminal paſs'd between 'em, only a generous Kindneſs that ſhe had for a Man noble, lovely, and every way accompliſh'd. To conclude, her Happineſs and Power both ſeem'd to be buried in the Tomb of *Eſſex*, whoſe Abſence with continued Sighs and Tears ſhe bemoan'd for ſome few Months, and then was likewiſe laid in her Grave. The Earl of *Southampton* was pardon'd, but Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *Gill Merrick*, and *Henry Cuffe* were condemned and executed for this Inſurrection. And the Lord *Grey*, Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, profeſſed Enemies to *Eſſex*, and no mean Inſtruments in his Deſtruction, fell into a Treaſon of a like Depth with his, in the Reign of King *James* I. *Grey* and *Cobham* dying miſerably in Priſon, and *Rawleigh* being beheaded on *Tower-hill.*

King

King James I.



Remarks on the Life, Actions, and fatal Fall of George Villars, Duke of Buckingham, Favourite to King James I. and King Charles I.

THIS Favourite aroſe upon the Fall of the Earl of *Somerſet*, upon whom K. *James* had heaped many Honours, advancing him from a Knight to Viſcount *Rocheſter*, Privy-Counſellor, E. of *Somerſet*, and Chamberlain. But his Glory was ſoon overclouded; having married the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, who had

been divorc'd from her Husband, the ſon of the preceding Favourite, that unfortunate Knight Sir *Thomas Overbury*, for ſpeaking againſt the Match, was by their Procurement poiſon'd in the Tower; for which the Earl and Counteſs were both condemn'd, but pardon'd and baniſh'd the Court.

King *James*, who could not live without a Boſom-Favourite, caſt his Eye upon *George Villars*, a young Gentleman of a fine ſhape, ſecond Son to Sir *George Villars*, of *Brooksby* in *Leiceſterſhire*, with whom the King was ſo taken, finding him a Man of a quick Underſtanding, and fit to make a Courtier, that he advanc'd him by degrees in Honour next to himſelf; making him firſt a Knight, then Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, Viſcount, Maſter of the Horſe, Lord Admiral, Earl, Marquiſs, and laſtly Duke of *Buckingham*. And now lying in the King's Boſom, every Man paid Tribute to his Smiles, and he managed all Affairs, putting Men in or out of Office according to his Pleaſure. Yet his Mother, who was a Papiſt, having a great Hand in all Buſineſs, and a great Power over her Son, directed him in all Matters of Profit and Concernment, and was addreſs'd to firſt, in order to procure any Favour from him; which cauſed *Gondemar*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, to write merrily to his Maſter, That there was never more Hope of *England*'s Converſion to *Rome* than now, for there were more Prayers and Oblations offer'd here to the Mother than to the Son. He married the Earl of *Rutland*'s Daughter, the greateſt Match in the Kingdom, who pretended to be a zealous Proteſtant, but his Mother and the Jeſuits reduc'd her to the Popiſh Religion, ſo that between a Mother and a Wife *Buckingham* himſelf grew very indifferent, being neither Papiſt nor Proteſtant.

King *James* affected the Name of a Peace-maker, and deſigning the general Quiet of *Europe*, and the reconciling all Parties, he profeſſed, That if the Papiſts would

would renounce their King-killing Doctrine, and ſome other groſs Errors, he was willing to meet them half way. And being zealous alſo to maintain the Height of Regal Majeſty, after the Death of Prince *Henry*, he reſolved to match his Son Prince *Charles* with ſome Princeſs of moſt high Deſcent, though of a diſrent Religion. And there having been a Treaty of Marriage between Prince *Henry* and a Daughter of *Spain*, wherein the *Spaniards* deluded him with their accuſtomed Gravity and Formality, he now ſets his Thoughts upon a Match with *France*; which the *Spaniſh* King doubting would be to his Diſadvantage, he made new Overtures, for a Marriage with his Daughter, to Sir *John Digby*, the King's Ambaſſador there, though with as little ſincerity as before. And at length Articles were agreed on, and ſign'd by King *James*, whereby the Children of this Marriage were not to be conſtrain'd to be Proteſtants, nor to loſe their Right of ſucceſſion if they were Catholicks. The Pope's Diſpenſation was to be procured, the new Queen was to have Popiſh Chaplains, Prieſts, Confeſſors, and all other Privileges.

The King was mightily pleaſed with this Alliance, but the People as much diſpleaſed, who had not forgot the intended Cruelty of 1588. and dreaded the Conſequence of this Popiſh Contract. But the King not thinking that the Buſineſs went on with that ſpeed he deſired, ſends the Prince and *Buckingham* to *Spain*, to conſummate the Marriage; where he is receiv'd with all manner of Magnificence by that King, and univerſal Joy of that People, in hope the Prince would turn Catholick, they generally diſcourſing, that he came thither on purpoſe to become a Chriſtian. Neither were any Endeavours wanting to ſeduce him, Pope *Gregory* writing a ſmooth Letter to him; yea, condeſcended to write another to *Buckingham*, his Guide and Familiar, to incline him to the

Romiſh Religion. The Prince returned an Anſwer to the Pope's Letter, and among other Expreſſions, ſays,

YOUR Holineſs's Conjecture of our Deſire to contract an Alliance and Marriage with a Catholick Family and Princeſs, is agreeable both to your Wiſdom and Charity; for we would never deſire ſo vehemently to be joined in a ſtrict and indiſſoluble Bond with any Mortal whatſoever whoſe Religion we hated. For it is very certain, I ſhall never be ſo extreamly affectionate to any thing in the World, as to endeavour an Alliance with a Prince that hath the ſame Apprehenſion of the true Religion with my ſelf. Therefore I entreat your Holineſs to believe, That I have been always far from encouraging Novelties, or to be a Partizan of any Faction againſt the Catholick, Apoſtolick, Roman Religion: But on the contrary, I have ſought all Occaſions to take away the Suſpicion that might reſt upon me. And I will employ my ſelf for the time to come to have but one Religion, and one Faith, ſeeing that we all believe in one Jeſus Chriſt; having reſolved in my ſelf to ſpare nothing that I have in this World, and to ſuffer all manner of Diſcommodities, even to the hazard of my Eſtate and Life, for a thing ſo pleaſing to God. I pray God to give your Holineſs a bleſſed Health here, and his Glory after ſo much Travail which your Holineſs takes within his Church.

After a while the Match was concluded in *England*, and the Articles ſworn to by King *James*, and ſome private ones much in favour of the Papiſts. And the King was ſo tranſported with the Aſſurance of it, that he was heard to ſay, Now all the Devils in Hell cannot hinder it. But a Stander-by ſaid to one of his Attendants, That there was never a Devil now left in Hell, for they were all gone into *Spain* to make up the Match. And indeed the Spirit of the Nation was ſo averſe to this Union, that they boldly vented their Sentiments both with their Tongues and Pens.

And

And among others, *Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* writ a very warm Letter to the King againſt a Toleration of Popery, which was one of the Articles agreed to. The Treaty was likewiſe ſigned and ſeal'd by the King of *Spain* and the Prince, who alſo oblig'd himſelf, That as often as the Infanta pleaſed, he would hearken to ſuch Catholick Divines as ſhe ſhould appoint to debate Matters of Religion with him, but would never diſſuade her from her own Religion; and would take care to abrogate all the Laws made againſt Catholicks, in three Years.

But after all, this Match prov'd abortive, and the Prince and Duke returned home again, the King declaring, That unleſs the Emperor would reſtore the Palatinate taken from his Son-in-law the Prince *Palatine*, he would proceed no farther: Which the King of *Spain* declining to be concern'd in, the Treaty was totally diſſolv'd, to the great Joy of all good Proteſtants.

The Duke gave the Parliament an Account of the whole Tranſaction, wherein he ſeverely reflected upon the deluſory Practices of the *Spaniſh* Court; which ſo incens'd the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, that he ſent to the King to inform him, that the Duke had ſome deſperate Deſign againſt his Life, and that the leaſt he could do in order to prevent him, would be to confine him to ſome of his Country-Houſes during Life, the Prince being now fully ripe for Government. This rais'd ſome Jealouſy in the old King, ſo that the next time he ſaw *Buckingham*, he cried, *Ah* Stenny, Stenny (which was the familiar Name he always called him) *wilt thou kill me?* At which the Duke was at firſt amazed; but finding afterward that a *Spaniſh* Jeſuit was the Informer, he told the King, it was only their Malice againſt him for breaking the Match, proteſting his Innocence. The King was ſatisfy'd the Ambaſſador was his Enemy, and that ſuch an Attempt could never be perform'd without the

Conſent of the Prince, whom the Ambaſſador reflected upon, though he did not directly accuſe him, and he thought it ſo horrid and unnatural a Deſign, that he paſſed it by without any further notice, than only ſending to the King of *Spain* to deſire Juſtice of him againſt his Ambaſſador's falſe Accuſation, which he ſaid wounded his Son's Honour through *Buckingham*'s Sides. Soon after the Ambaſſador was recalled, and for form ſake had a little check given him, but was in as much Favour as ever.

Thus was this Information waved, and the Duke ſo far re-eſtabliſh'd in Favour, that he doubted not but to cruſh all that oppos'd him, and charged *Cranfield* Earl of *Middleſex*, in Parliament, with ſeveral Miſmanagements of the Revenue, the Prince, who was *Buckingham*'s Right Hand, joining with him in it. The King being at *New-Market*, to free himſelf from the Noiſe of Buſineſs, hearing of it, writ to the Prince, That he ſhould not take part with any Faction in Parliament againſt the Earl of *Middleſex*, but be ſo indifferent, that both Parties might ſeek to him; for if he bandied to remove old Servants, the time would come that others would do as much by him. This wiſe Advice declar'd *Buckingham* to be a little declining in the King's Favour, or the King in his: For if the King knew *Buckingham* to be the chief Proſecutor, it look'd ill for the King to plead for him; and if not, there was not that Intimacy between them as formerly. However, *Cranfield*'s Actions were prov'd to be ſo diſhonourable, that he was fin'd ſeverely, and made incapable of ever ſitting in the Houſe of Peers for the future.

Soon after the King died at *Theobalds*, of a *Tertian Ague*, as was then ſaid, and King *Charles*, who in his Father's Life-time was link'd to the Duke, now continued to receive him into an admired Intimacy and Dearneſs, making him Partaker of all his Counſels and Cares, and chief Conductor of his Affairs; an

Example

Example rare in this Nation, to be the Favourite of two ſucceeding Princes: But was not ſo fortunate as to Parliaments; for although the laſt in King *James*'s time had approv'd of his Conduct, in breaking the *Spaniſh* Match, yet the firſt Parliament of this King drawing up a Remonſtrance of their Grievances, inveigh'd againſt him in their Speeches as the chief Occaſion of all Miſcarriages in Government: As the Loſs of the Royalty of the Narrow Seas, by his Miſmanagement of the Office of Lord High Admiral; his enriching himſelf and Kindred, to the impoveriſhing of the King and Crown; his ill beſtowing of Offices of Truſt and Profit; the Increaſe of Popery, occaſion'd by the Duke's Mother and Father-in-law, both Papiſts; the ſcandalous Sale of all Honours, Offices, and Employments, eccleſiaſtical, military, and civil; and his ſtaying at home (tho' Admiral) when he ſhould have commanded the Fleet, which miſcarried by his being abſent.

In the ſame Parliament likewiſe, the Earl of *Briſtol* accuſed the Duke of High Treaſon, and the Duke charged him with the ſame. One of the Articles againſt *Buckingham* was, That the Pope being inform'd of his Inclination to the Catholick Religion, ſent the Duke a Bull in Parchment, to perſuade and encourage him to pervert the Prince of *Wales*. After this, the Parliament proceeded to impeach the Duke upon thirteen Articles of High-Treaſon, and other High Crimes and Miſdemeanours; one of which was, his giving Potions and applying Plaiſters to the late King *James* in his Sickneſs, without the Advice, and contrary to the Directions of his ſworn Phyſicians, from whence proceeded Drowths, Raving, Fainting, and an Intermitting Fever; which the King was ſo ſenſible of, that being told by his Phyſicians, that his Diſtemper increas'd by Cold, he reply'd, *No, no, it proceeded from that which I have from* Buckingham.

The King was ſo angry at theſe Proceedings, having caution'd them from medling with the Duke, that he committed Sir *Dudley Diggs* who made the Prologue, and Sir *John Elliot* the Epilogue of his Impeachment, both Priſoners to the Tower. After which the Duke gave in an Anſwer to all the Articles charged againſt him, as well of miſ-employing the Ships of *Rochel*, as about the Death of King *James*, wherein he acknowledges, he did give the Potion to the King, but it was by his own Order, in Preſence of the King's Phyſicians, who did not ſeem to diſlike it, ſome of them having taſted it. And the Duke acquainting the King, that ſome had reported that this Drink had made him worſe, and that he had given it him without Advice, the King anſwer'd, *They are worſe than Devils that ſay it.* However the Parliament proceeded with an Addreſs to the King for removing the Duke from his Council and Preſence, and the Houſe of Lords ſent four Peers to intreat him to give audience to their whole Houſe upon this Subject. But the King replied, That his Reſolution was to hear no Motion for that Purpoſe, but that he would diſſolve the Parliament, which he did inſtantly by Commiſſion, which gave Occaſion to the People to utter their Minds freely upon this Tranſaction.

After this the King declares war againſt *France*, and a Fleet being provided, and an Army raiſed, *Buckingham* is made both Admiral and General, and lands his Army at the Iſle of *Rhee*, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the *French*, both Horſe and Foot, whom the *Engliſh* defeated. From whence they marched to St. *Martins*, and block'd up the Citadel. But notwithſtanding our Army at Land, and a hundred Sail of Ships at Sea, yet the *French* got into the Harbour with Relief of Proviſions, and afterward carried ſo great a Supply into the Citadel, that the Duke, who had lain idle for many Weeks, being at length prevail'd with to ſtorm it, was forced to retire, and in his

Loſs of *Newcaſtle*, the People of *England* might be engag'd in a national and irreconcileable Quarrel with the *Scots*: And that to ſecure himſelf from being queſtion'd for theſe and other traiterous Courſes, he had laboured to ſubvert the Rights of Parliament, and to incenſe his Majeſty againſt them by falſe and malicious Slanders; and that upon the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, he did treacherouſly and wickedly counſel and adviſe his Majeſty to this Effect, That having try'd the Affections of his People, he was looſe and abſolv'd from all Rules of Government, and was to do every thing that Power would admit, ſince having try'd all Ways, he was refuſed, ſo that he would now be acquitted both by God and Man; and that he had an Army in *Ireland* (meaning the Army of Papiſts, who were his Dependants) which the King might imploy to reduce this Kingdom to his Obedience: That he falſly, maliciouſly, and treacherouſly declared before ſome of the Privy-Council, That the Parliament of *England* had forſaken the King, and that in denying to ſupply him, they had given him the Advantage to ſupply himſelf by ſuch Ways as he ſhould think fit, and that he was not to ſuffer himſelf to be maſter'd by the Frowardneſs of the People: That he was very rigorous in levying the illegal Impoſition of Ship-money, and impriſon'd divers Perſons for not levying the ſame; And a great Loan of an hundred thouſand Pound being demanded of the City, and ſome refuſing to lend, the Lord Mayor and Alderman were requir'd to return their Names, which they with Humility refuſing to do, the Earl ſaid, That they deſerved to be put to Fine and Ranſom, and to be made Examples, and laid by the heels, and that it would never be well till ſome of the Aldermen were hang'd up: That by wicked Counſel he had brought on the King exceſſive Charges, and then adviſ'd him to approve of two dangerous Projects; to ſeize the Money in the Mint, and to imbaſe his

own

own Coin with a Mixture of Braſs: That he had declared, that *Ireland* was a conquer'd Nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleaſed; and ſpeaking of the Charters of former Kings of *England*, he ſaid, They were nothing worth, and that he would neither have Law nor Lawyers queſtion or diſpute any of his Orders, and that he would make all *Ireland* know, that ſo long as he had the Government there, any Act of State there made, ſhould be as binding to the Subject as an Act of Parliament: That he did not only tyrannize over the Bodies, but over the Conſciences of Men, by forming and impoſing a new and unuſual Oath; which becauſe ſome *Scots* refuſed to take, he fined and baniſh'd great numbers, and called all that Nation Rebels and Traitors, and ſaid, if ever he returned home to *England*, he would root them out, both Stock and Branch.

Theſe, and a multitude of other Crimes, he was charged to have committed both in *Ireland* and *England*; many of which he confeſs'd to be true, but not with their Aggravations. Some he denied, and others he extenuated; and pleaded, that though the whole were proved againſt him, yet it did not amount to Treaſon. Some of the Lords and Commons were of the ſame Opinion. Others urged, That though he were not guilty of any of the Offences declar'd to be Treaſon by the 25th of *Edward* III. yet ſo great were the Crimes, that (according to that Statute, which impowers the Parliament to declare what is Treaſon) they ought to be declared Treaſon. At length it was agreed to proceed againſt him by way of Attainder, which was much oppoſed likewiſe; it being alledg'd, That no Man could be convict of Treaſon, but by the Letter of the Statute. And the Lord *Digby*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and an earneſt Proſecutor of the Earl, ſpake thus of it: 'Mr. *Speaker*, I 'am ſtill of the ſame Opinion and Affections to the 'Earl *Strafford*; I confidently believe him the moſt 'dangerous

'dangerous Miniſter, and the moſt inſupportable to 'free Subjects that can be found. I believe his Prac-'tices as high and as tyrannical as any Subject ever 'ventur'd on, and the Malignity of them highly ag-'gravated by thoſe rare Abilities of his, whereof 'God hath given him the Uſe, but the Devil the Ap-'plication. I believe him ſtill the grand Apoſtate to 'the Commonwealth, who muſt not expect to be par-'don'd in this World, till he be diſpatch'd to the o-'ther. I do not ſay but his Crimes may repreſent him 'a Man as worthy to die, and perhaps worthier, 'than many a Traitor, and may juſtly direct us to 'enact that they ſhall be Treaſon for the future; but 'God keep me from giving Judgment of Death on any 'Man, and to ruin his Poſterity upon a Law made af-'ter the Crime is committed. And by any Law yet 'made, I do not believe he is guilty of Treaſon.'

However the Bill of Attainder paſs'd in the Houſe of Commons; and Mr. *St. John* endeavour'd to ſatiſfy the Lords in the Reaſonableneſs thereof, to induce them to paſs it. 'For, *ſaid he*, though the Proofs at 'the Trial were inſufficient, and nothing but legal 'Evidence can prevail in Judicature, yet by this way 'both Lords and Commons might proceed by the light 'of their own Conſciences, altho' no Evidence were 'given at all.' And after many Aggravations of the Earl's Offences in ſubverting our Laws, as he affirm'd, he concluded thus: 'He that would not have had 'others have any Law, ſhould have none himſelf. It 'is true, we give Laws to Hares and Deer, becauſe 'they be Beaſts of Chaſe; but it was never accounted 'Cruelty or foul Play to knock Foxes or Wolves on 'the head as they may be found, becauſe theſe be 'Beaſts of Prey. The Warrener ſets Traps for Pole-'cats and other Vermin, for the Preſervation of the 'Warren.'

The Lords after this Speech ſhewing a greater Propenſity toward the Earls Condemnation than before, the

the King having an Account of it, came next Day to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Houſe of Commons, told them,

'That Judgment being ready to paſs on the Earl of '*Strafford*, he thought it neceſſary to declare his Con'ſcience therein, they being ſenſible that he had been 'preſent at the hearing this great Cauſe from one end 'to the other, and yet that in his Conſcience he could 'not condemn him of High Treaſon; aſſuring them, 'That he never intended to bring an *Iriſh* Army into '*England*, nor was ever adviſ'd by any Body ſo to do: 'That there never was any Debate before him of the 'Diſloyalty of his *Engliſh* Subjects, nor had he ever 'any Suſpicion of them: That he was never coun'ſelled by any to alter all, or any of the Laws of '*England*, ſince if any durſt have been ſo impudent, 'he ſhould have made them Examples to Poſterity: 'That he would be rightly underſtood; for tho' in 'his Conſcience he could not condemn him of High 'Treaſon, yet he could not clear him of ſuch Miſde'meanours, as he did not think him fit to ſerve him 'or the Commonwealth hereafter in any Place of 'Truſt, no not ſo much as a Conſtable, and therefore 'he hop'd they would find out a way to ſatisfy Juſtice 'and their own Fears, and not oppreſs his Conſcience, 'ſince neither Fear, nor any other Reſpect whatſo'ever, ſhould ever make him act againſt it.'

This Speech reliſh'd ſo ill with the two Houſes, that few of them attended next Day, being *Sunday May* 2. on the Solemnity of the King's eldeſt Daughter Lady *Mary*'s Marriage to the Prince of *Orange*. On *Monday* five or ſix thouſand Apprentices, and other tumultuous Citizens, came down to *Weſtminſter* to demand Juſtice againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; and Petitions ſubſcrib'd with thouſands of Hands were preſented to both Houſes about redreſſing Grievances. Soon after the Lords paſs'd the Bill of Attainder, but the King ſeem'd very averſe to paſs it, and conſulted both

both with Lawyers and Divines of the Lawfulneſs thereof. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* urg'd, that the Opinion of the Judges and the Judgment of the Parliament thereupon, ought much to ſway with him, conſidering the terrible Conſequences of an enrag'd Multitude, and that no other Expedient could be found out to appeaſe the People. But the main Satisfaction of the King's Conſcience, it is ſaid, proceeded from a Letter ſent to him by the Earl, to this purpoſe:

Sir, to ſet your Majeſty's Conſcience at liberty, I do moſt humbly beſeech you, for preventing ſuch Miſchiefs as may happen by your refuſal, to paſs the Bill, by this Means to remove (I cannot ſay accurſed, but I confeſs) this unfortunate Thing out of the way, toward that bleſſed Agreement which I truſt God ſhall forever eſtabliſh betwixt you and your Subjects. Sir, my Conſent herein ſhall more acquit you to God, than all the World can do beſides, &c.

The next Day the King ſigned a Commiſſion to ſeveral Lords to paſs the Bill, which was done accordingly. But being unwilling to part with his indeared Favourite, he ſent a Letter by the Prince of *Wales* to the Houſe of Lords, that Mercy might be extended to him as to Life, but that he might fulfil the natural Courſe of his Days in cloſe Impriſonment. But the Lords ſent twelve of their Number to the King, to ſatisfy him that it could not be done with Safety, neither to himſelf nor his Queen. *If it cannot*, ſays he, *then* Fiat Juſtitia, *let Juſtice be done.*

May 12. 1641. The Earl was convey'd from the Tower to the Scaffold erected on the Hill with a ſufficient Guard, and Archbiſhop *Uſher* to aſſiſt him, where it is ſaid he deſigned to have made a Speech already prepared, to this Effect:

People of my Native Country,

I Wiſh my own or your Charity had made me fit to call you Friends; It ſhould appear by your Concourſe and gazing Aſpects, that I am now the only prodigious Meteor

toward

toward which you direct your wondring Eyes. I would to God, my Blood would cure your ſad Hearts of all your Grievances; though every Drop thereof were a Soul on which a Life depended, I could tender it with as much Alacrity as ſome, nay moſt of you, are come to triumph in my final Expiration. In regard I have been by you, my native Country (whoſe Wiſdom and Juſtice, in reſpect of the Generality of it, is no way queſtionable) voted to this untimely End, I have not one Syllable to ſay in Juſtification of my ſelf, or thoſe Actions for which I ſuffer: Only in excuſe of both, give me leave to ſay, my too much Zeal to do my Maſter ſervice, made me abuſe his Royal Authority; and howſoever I have been moſt unfortunate, yet at all times a Favourite. In the Proſecution of my Place and Offices, as I ſhall anſwer at the dreadful Tribunal whereunto your juſt Anger hath, before Nature, doom'd me, my Intents were fairer than my Actions; but, God knows, the Over-greatneſs of my ſpirits, ſeverity in my Government, the Witchcraft of Authority, and Flattery of many to ſharpen it, are but ill Interpreters of my Intentions, which I have no Argument to induce you to believe, but that it proceeds from a dying Man. It would too much hinder your longing Expectation of my ſhameful Death, to give an account of my Arraignment and Attainder; for I have been, and whilſt I breath am, the Peſtilence which rages through your Minds, your Eſtates, and Trades, and you will read the Bills of your Loſſes, tho' the Diſeaſe that brought the Deſtruction be remov'd, &c.

He then declar'd, That he forgave all the World, and acquitted them of his Death, and beſeeched the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them: That he was never againſt Parliaments, as judging them the moſt happy Conſtitution, and the beſt means to make the King and People happy: That it was a great Comfort to him, that the King did not think he merited ſo heavy a Puniſhment as this. So wiſhing all Proſperity to the Kingdom, he addreſs'd himſelf to his Prayers;

Prayers; and then laying down his Head on the Block, it was cut off at one Blow.——Inſtead of a Character of him, I ſhall conclude with this Epitaph, written by Mr. *John Cleveland.*

Here lies wiſe and valiant Duſt
Huddled up 'twixt fit and juſt:
Strafford, *who was hurried hence,*
'Twixt Treaſon and Convenience.
He ſpent his Time here in a Miſt,
A Papiſt, *yet a* Calviniſt.
His Prince's neareſt Joy and Grief
He had, yet wanted all Relief.
The Prop and Ruin of the ſtate,
The People's violent Love and Hate;
One in Extremes, lov'd and abhorr'd.
Riddles lie here. And, in a Word,
Here lies Blood; and let it lie,
Speechleſs ſtill, and never cry.

FINIS.

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